DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 132 232 UD 016 630

AUTHOR	Lawrence, Joyce V.; Mamola, Claire Z.
TITLE	Public Education in the United States. A Modularized Course. Elementary Education 3010. Secondary Education 3040.
SPONS AGENCY	Appalachian State Univ., Boone, N.C. Center for Instructional Development.
PUB DATE	[75]
NOTE	358p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$19.41 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	College Curriculum; Course Descriptions; Course Organization; *Education Courses; Education Majors; Elementary Secondary Education; Independent Study; Individualized Instruction; Instructional Materials; *Learning Modules; *Programed Instruction; Public Education; *Teacher Education Curriculum; Teaching Methods; *Undergraduate Students

ABSTRACT

This modularized, self-paced study program in Elementary and Secondary Education for K-12 majors is an evolving course of study designed for responsible students. The course is organized into six modules: Trends and Issues in Contemporary Education, Philosophical and Historical Foundations of Education, Administrative Structure and Financing of Public Education, Curriculum/Instruction, Students with Special Needs, and Legal Aspects of Public Education. Module One examines current writers and crucial questions in American education. Options for study within this module also include examination of these questions: What could evaluation be? Is education a profession? What's "in"? Whose values? How can we foster creativity? Module Two is an overview of the development of education in the United States and how major schools of educational thought have affected it. Module Three examines patterns of organization and ways of financing the educational process. Module Four is an overview of organizational concepts in today's schools including alternatives to traditional schooling. Module Five is an opportunity to become acquainted with problems faced by students of various cultures and by students designated "exceptional" as they experience public schooling. Module Six is an introduction to crucial components of current North Carolina law about which all prospective teachers should be knowledgeable. (Author/JM)

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PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES:

A MODULARIZED COURSE

Elementary Education 3010
Secondary Education 3040

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and

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UD 016630

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Cover design by Robert S. Jones

Photography by Mick Kreszock

This book was made possible through a project sponsored by
The Center for Instructional Development

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To our Appalachian students who have served during the past two years as catalysts for helping initiate the change process in the instructional program must go our greatest debt of gratitude. Their frustrations --- and satisfactions --- have not gone unnoticed, but have helped us tremendously in the continual rewriting and reworking of the course "Public Education in the United States."

We are indebted to our elementary and secondary department chairpersons, Grace Lilly and Andy Miller, for their foresight in suggesting, two years ago, an interdepartmental effort. The continuity of focus for K-12 majors who represent various subject area specialities provides an integration of learning which is congruent with the departments' philosophies.

Of great help and support during the first year of our cooperative effort was our graduate student, the late Joann Sprunt. Her value to us as helper, critic, and friend was immeasureable. We still miss her keenly.

A special note of appreciation is also due our colleagues at Appalachian State University who have served to inspire, challenge and assist this collaborative endeavor. We especially appreciate the diligent and cheerful help of graduate student Sarah Kirk and secretary Cathy Cantwell. Both have aided this endeavor significantly.

A Note from the Authors

This is an evolving course of study designed for responsible students. It represents more than anything else the collaborative efforts of two persons who view the educational process as a lifelong experience. The excitement of learning for us is real indeed. A strong belief in the ongoing continuum of school experiences and the holistic development of the learner are motivating forces which undergird our reasons for conceptualizing the course as it is. It is our hope that the K-12 majors who take this course will, in turn, view their students as intrinsically motivated human beings who want to learn because it is simply great to do so!

During the past two years of team teaching Public Education in the United States, we have continually revised, refined and reworked the course. By its very title, the course must reflect an ever-changing curriculum and concern for those who would be teachers. The endeavor to commit to writing a course which we see as flexible, contemporary, and humane has caused us great concern. It raises serious questions for us. Will the hoped-for spontaneity of the teaching/learning process be perceived by our students? Will our concern for developing the helping nature of professional teachers be apparent to students who might simply "purchase" the hearts and substance of our teaching ability? Will the rigor of independent learning challenge or discourage our students? We know for many students this will be the first experience in working on one's own with no regularly scheduled classes to meet, no lectures to listen to, no one to serve as reminder for meeting particular responsibilities.

In addition to these concerns of a serious nature, we view the course as one which is fun to teach. We have selectively chosen areas and issues important to us, but with cognizance of those factors which vitally affect the wider human community. As lifelong learners ourselves, we seek to empathize always with our students as we develop activities. Our curriculum, then, is based upon the uniqueness of the individual and the teacher using "self" as the instrument for facilitating educational goals.

Joyce V. Lawrence
Claire Morrola

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INTRODUCTION
AND
ORIENTATION

Welcome to the modularized, self-paced study program in Elementary and Secondary Education for K-12 majors. You are beginning a journey of experiences which can be informative and interesting. You may pace yourself throughout the semester working at those times regularly scheduled for your section and at other times when the Center or Library is open. This undergraduate course does not presume to "make" a teacher of you. Its purpose is to broaden your comprehension of the role and function of education in the nation and to increase your awareness of contemporary issues and trends facing professionals. It is through better understanding of the role and function of education that your professionalism will be enhanced. The professional teacher not only knows how to teach but can address himself or herself to the broader issues facing educators today.

OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE

Module I. Trends and Issues in Contempory Education

--a look at current writers and crucial questions in American education

--options for study within this module also include examination of these questions -

What could evaluation be?
Is education a profession?
What's "in"?
Whose values?
How can we foster creativity?

Module II. Philosophical and Historical Foundations of Education

--an overview of the development of education in the United States and how major schools of educational thought have affected it.

Module III. Administrative Structure and Financing of Public Education

--patterns of organization and ways of financing the educational process.

Module IV. Curriculum /Instruction

--an overview of organizational concepts in today's schools including alternatives to traditional schooling.

Module V. Students with Special Needs

--an opportunity to become acquainted with problems faced by students of various cultures and by students designated "exceptional" as they experience public schooling.

Module VI. Legal Aspects of Public Education

--an introduction to crucial components of current North Carolina law about which all prospective teachers should be knowledgeable.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Modules	You must work in each of the six modules comprising this course of study if you are enrolled in SE 3040. You may omit either Module III or Module VI if you are enrolled in EE 3010.
Materials	Most materials required for modules can be found in this book. Two textbooks, Teaching in the New Elementary School by Ragan, Wilson, and Ragan and Education - A Beginning by Van Til, are available under the ASU rental system. Ask for Ragan, Wilson, and Ragan at the bookstore. Van Til is available in the center (266EDH).
Environment	The Center at Edwin Duncan Hall, #266, provides the common meeting area for students enrolled in this course. Bulletin boards, file cabinets for record keeping, individual study carrels and additional equipment and seating space are provided there. The Center is open on a scheduled basis approximately twenty hours during the week.
Activities	Each module has several activities valued at so many credits. The instructors have attempted to provide many different types of learning situations for you. Activities will be provided on a limited basis, however. You should make a habit of checking the announcements board for specifically scheduled activities (films, seminars, and the like). Compensator activities of a paralleling nature are provided should you miss one or more of the limited, scheduled activities.
Assessment	(1) Each module grade will be based on the level of competency contracted for by the student. Students will file their contracts with the instructors within 3 days after the course begins. Changes will not be encouraged unless circumstances call for them. Instructor approval in writing must be given for contract changes. Each module contains a maximum of 50 credits except for Module I which has 100. Credits for an activity are given on the basis of the quality of work--not necessarily the quantity of work. All students enrolled in the course will receive a grade of A, B, C, D, or F at the end of the semester. You must have credits in all modules if you are a 3040 student. The 3010 student will have credits in all but Module III or VI. A grade of F will be recorded for anyone not obtaining at least 100 points by the end of the term. INCOMPLETES will not be recorded for anyone enrolled unless extenuating circumstances require it as listed in the ASU catalogue. (2) The tests on the material in Modules I-VI are evaluated on the basis of PASS or NO PASS. You may take the tests on Modules I-VI as many times as necessary to pass. However, if you have not passed all tests by the end of the term a grade of F will be recorded for the entire course.

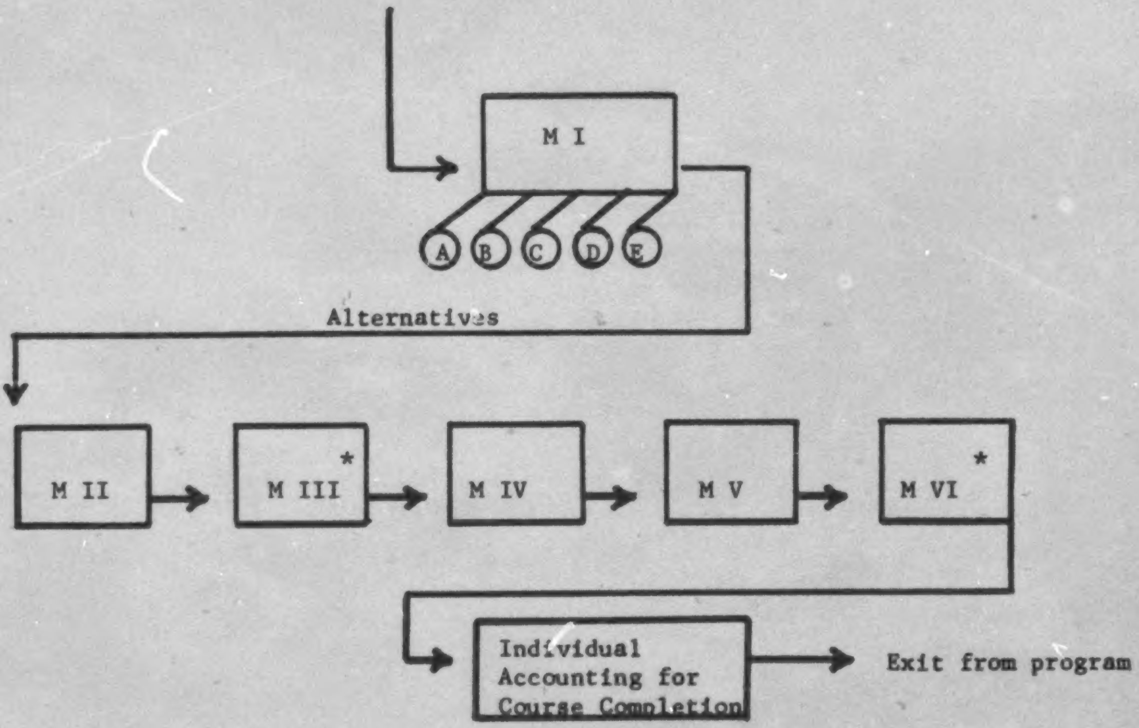
PROCEDURES

You are now free to proceed at your own pace through the requirements of this course. Should you have any questions along the way, feel free to contact either the attendant in the Center or one of the instructors assigned to the Center (see Announcements Board).

The Center schedule is posted on the Announcements Board as are the times of other activities. Check this board often!

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY MODULARIZED COURSE

K-12 Majors Enter Program



* Elementary (3010) students may omit either III or VI.

Although it is desirable to move through the modules sequentially, you may find it necessary to be working in more than one module at a time in order to take advantage of a limited activity. This is permissable and should cause no difficulty. The required minimum points (30) in each module must be recorded before your credits can be translated into a final grade.

GRADING POLICIES FOR K-12 SECTIONS 3010 - 3040

Modules have the following values:

	A Level	B Level	C Level
Module I	100	65	40
Module II	50	40	30
Module III	50	40	30
Module IV	50	40	30
Module V	50	40	30
Module VI	50	40	30

No partial values will be given for modules. All work will be completed at an acceptable level in order to gain full points.

FINAL GRADING

EE 3010		SE 3040
265 points	- minimum for "A" -	315 points
200 points	- minimum for "B" -	240 points
160 points	- minimum for "C" -	190 points
130 points	- minimum for "D" -	160 points

Remember, EE 3010 people will omit Module III or Module VI / since 3010 is a two semester hour course.

This copy is for your information.

COURSE CONTRACT
For SE 3040 and 3010
Public Education in the United States

	FOR THE STUDENT	FOR THE INSTRUCTOR		
	I would like to contract for:	No. of points	Date	Initials
MODULE I	____________	____________	____	______
MODULE II	____________	____________	____	______
MODULE III	____________	____________	____	______
MODULE IV	____________	____________	____	______
MODULE V	____________	____________	____	______
MODULE VI	____________	____________	____	______
FINAL GRADE/ TOTAL POINTS				
	Signature:	Signature:		

3010 or 3040
Student Number

____

FINAL GRADE ____________
Date____________

SAMPLE

Staple this copy to your file folder
located in the Center (266 Duncan)

COURSE CONTRACT
For SE 3040 and EE 3010
Public Education in the United States

	FOR THE STUDENT	FOR THE INSTRUCTOR		
	I would like to contract for:	No. of points	Date	Initials
MODULE I	____________	____________	____	____________
MODULE II	____________	____________	____	____________
MODULE III	____________	____________	____	____________
MODULE IV	____________	____________	____	____________
MODULE V	____________	____________	____	____________
MODULE VI	____________	____________	____	____________
FINAL GRADE/ TOTAL POINTS				

Signature:

Signature:

3010 or 3040
Student Number

____

FINAL GRADE____________
Date ____________

This copy is for your reference. The following copy should be torn out and stapled inside your folder in the Center.

Name ______________________________

Social Security No. __________________

SAMPLE

RECORD OF WORK

	Level C	Level B	Level A	Total Points for Module
Module I	Film Kohl Test C Alternative	Silberman Slides Test B	Alternative Paper	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module II	Kneller Van Til Test C	Cremin Test B	Skinner Rogers Debate Worksheet	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module III	Van Til Tape Brubaker & Nelson Worksheet "Self Inventory of Beliefs" Test C	Interview Schedule Summary Paper	Group Discussion with Administrator Synthesis	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module IV	Ragan, Wilson, Ragan Abramowitz Jones McEwin & Lawrence Proctor Test C	Research School Organization Paper School [illegible] Form	Paper on Open Education or Humanizing Education	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module V	**Part I** Gussow Seymour Tenenbaum Test C	Silberman Seminar	Cruickshank Lab	Module Evaluation turned in.
	Part II Slide Presentation Birch Birch Test C	[illegible] Seminar	Corvin Posner Cruickshank Lab (same as session above) Reaction sheet	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module VI	Excerpts Mamola Tape Test C	Ladd Reaction Paper	Folder/Bulletin Board Display	Module Evaluation turned in.

This copy is for your reference. The following copy should be torn out and stapled inside your folder in the Center.

Name ______________________________

Social Security No.________________

RECORD OF WORK

	Level C	Level B	Level A	Total Points for Module
Module I	Film Kohl Test C Alternative	Silberman Slides Test B	Alternative Paper	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module II	Kneller Van Til Test C	Cremin Test B	Skinner Rogers Debate Worksheet	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module III	Van Til Tape Brubaker & Nelson Worksheet "Self Inventory of Beliefs" Test C	Interview Schedule Summary Paper	Group Discussion with administrator Synthesis	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module IV	Ragan, Wilson, Ragan Abramowitz Jones McEwin & Lawrence Proctor Test C	Resnick School Organization Paper School Visit Form	Paper on Open Education or Humanizing Education	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module V	Part I Gussow Seymour Tenenbaum Test C	Silberman Seminar	Cruickshank Lab	Module Evaluation turned in.
	Part II Slide Presentation Birch Birch Test C	Allen Seminar	Corvin Posner Cruickshank Lab (same as session above) Reaction sheet	Module Evaluation turned in.
Module VI	Excerpts Mamola Tape Test C	Ladd Reaction Paper	Folder/Bulletin Board Display	Module Evaluation turned in.

MODULE I - TRENDS AND ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION

Rationale

Today, more than ever various critics are taking long, hard looks at American public education. Some view the schools from their perspective in the classroom, others from their perspective as interested, intelligent citizens.

Many critics do not like much of what they see. The purpose of this module is to acquaint you with several of the critics so that you can analyze their work and begin to seek your answers to the question, "What's a school for, anyway?" In addition, alternative topics have been written into the module. They are addressed to various trends and issues in education. Choose the alternatives which will have the most relevance to you as a teacher.

Objectives

Upon completion of this module, the student should be able to identify and discuss major criticisms of the implicit philosophy and effectiveness of present day American public schools.

The student will be able to assess these criticisms in relation to his or her own school experience. The student should be able to be specific, not vague, about these criticisms and his/her evaluation of them. The student will be cognizant of emerging issues and trends in education and be able to discuss how they relate to his or her teaching.

Materials

Film - What's New at School?

Slide presentation - "Trends and Issues in Contemporary Education"

Kohl, H. "Teaching" from 36 Children (Available in Center, Duncan 226 and Belk Library - Reserve Room)

Silberman, C. "Education for Docility," Chap. 4 from Crisis in the Classroom (Available in Belk Library - Reserve Room)

Environment

Watch for announcements on the main bulletin board in the Center, Duncan 226, for scheduled film showings, tape showings and seminars.

Activities and Assessment

"C" level of competency

All students will:

1. View film;
2. Read Kohl's "Teaching";
3. Pass Test C;
4. Complete one alternative at a satisfactory level.

"B" level of competency

All students will:

1. View film;
2. Read:
   a. Kohl's "Teaching";
   b. Silberman's "Education for Docility";
3. View slide presentation and participate in a discussion;
4. Pass Tests C and also B. (Discussion questions);
5. Complete one alternative at satisfactory level.

"A" level of competency

All of #1-5 above, plus:

6. Complete one additional alternative;
7. Create a Reaction Paper (4-6 typewritten pages) to the film, slide presentation, readings, and discussions. The title of the paper is to be "What's a School for, Anyway?" The paper must be deemed acceptable by the instructors.

ALTERNATIVE TOPICS FOR MODULE I

On the following pages, five alternatives are given for possible study in order to complete Module I. Depending upon your choice of working to "B" or "C" level of competency or "A" level in this module, you will choose one or two.

Read the brief description given below, make your decision and record it on your "Course Contract." In addition, each student is asked to indicate his/her choice on the bulletin board "Sign - Up Sheets" in the Center (266 Duncan).

ALTERNATIVE A: Is Education a Profession?

The entrance into the formal practice of teaching is a step which has life-long impact upon approximately 60% of the students graduating in teacher education. This teaching practice usually evolves with an ever-increasing group of vocational descriptors usually referred to as "professional." Is teaching a profession according to established criteria?

ALTERNATIVE B: How can we foster creativity?

Schools have been severely criticized because of their emphasis on rote-learning, factual tests, and, generally, lower-order thinking. Educators concerned with these problems tell us the way to creative thinking and problem solving begins with us and the kinds of experiences and materials we provide for the student.

ALTERNATIVE C: What could evaluation be?

All too often teachers get evaluation and grading confused. A letter or a mark is put down as though one mark on a paper could characterize the learning achieved by a student. An appreciation of evaluation to direct further student learning is needed. Prospective teachers must be aware of the pitfalls of relying too much on pencil and paper tests for evaluation of students. They must be aware of the difficulties in constructing and grading objective and subjective tests.

ALTERNATIVE D: What's "in" now?

A brief look into a few of the innovative ideas and important issues on the educational scene today including independent study, learning centers, instructional technology, individualized instruction, sex role stereotyping, and human rights. This alternative is group oriented.

ALTERNATIVE E: Whose values?

Students face problems and decisions every day of their lives. One function of teaching/learning which is gaining momentum in our schools is that of teaching values through processes of value clarification. This is done so that students may respond with conviction and clarity concerning their own decisions and answers. How do teachers cope with this important issue? What if values really differ?

ALTERNATIVE A - IS EDUCATION A PROFESSION?

Rationale

Is teaching a profession according to established criteria? The student who will be a teacher should investigate this question. In addition, it is helpful for the beginning teacher to be aware of "professional" activities, organizations, and other pursuits in order to take full advantage of them upon entry into the field.

Objectives

Upon completion of this alternative, students will possess knowledge of major teacher organizations and their role in serving the individual, the various arguments involved with the question "is teaching a profession?", and will be working toward a clarification of that question.

Materials

Various educational journals and publications to be identified by the student according to his or her need. These items are found in the University Library (Belk Library).

Encyclopedia of Associations, Belk Library (Reference)

Van Til. Education: A Beginning, (Text)

Worksheet "Is Education a Profession?"

Environment

The Center

The Belk Library

Activities and Assessment

Read Van Til, pages 102-122. Give special attention to Lieberman's criteria for a profession.

Utilizing the Encyclopedia of Associations identify all the groups whose major purpose is dealing with the subject matter or teaching area in which you are preparing to teach.

Identify the periodicals of both professional organizations identified in Van Til (N.E.A. and A.F.T. Examine them closely. You need to go to Belk Library).

Identify the subject area organization with which you most likely will affiliate and find out what their journal publication is. (You will need to go to Belk Library).

Prepare one of the following:

A. The outline of a 15 minute speech to the Rotary Club on "Is Teaching a Profession?";

OR

B. A bulletin board on services offered by professional organizations for teachers. (Three people may do this together, using a board in the Center or one assigned in Duncan Hall);

OR

C. A survey to be used in your local community comparing the status of teachers to that of other professionals. Have the reason being interviewed given and ask persons to rank the list according to their service to the community. Use the survey to interview 15-25 people. (Three or four students may work together on this.) Present your data on the bulletin board in the Center.

The instructors will assign a SATISFACTORY or NON-SATISFACTORY to your work.

(Suggested form for survey,)

Instructions: Rank the following occupations according to the prestige which is attached to them in the United States. Place a "1" in front of the occupation which you feel to be the most prestigious, etc., all the way to "15", least prestigious.

__________ Novelist
__________ Journalist
__________ Policeman/policewoman
__________ Banker
__________ U.S. Supreme Court Justice
__________ Attorney
__________ Undertaker
__________ State governor
__________ Sociologist
__________ Scientist
__________ Public school teacher
__________ Dentist
__________ Psychiatrist
__________ College professor
__________ Physician

Turn in this worksheet, completed, if you elect to do Alternative A.

Worksheet for Alternative A
IS EDUCATION A PROFESSION ?

From the Encyclopedia of Associations, groups related to you and your field:

____

____

____

____

____

Reaction statement to AFT and NEA periodicals: ______________________________

____

____

____

Your subject area organization: ______________________________

____

Which activity, (A), (B), or (C), did you choose? ______________________________

Describe the outcomes: ______________________________

____

____

____

____

____

Your Name ______________________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

SAMPLE

Turn in this worksheet, completed, if you elect to do Alternative A.

Worksheet for Alternative A
IS EDUCATION A PROFESSION ?

From the Encyclopedia of Associations, groups related to you and your field:

____

____

____

____

____

Reaction statement to AFT and NEA periodicals: ____________________

____

____

____

Your subject area organization: ____________________________

____

Which activity, (A), (B), or (C), did you choose? __________________
Describe the outcomes: __________________________________

____

____

____

____

____

Your Name ____________________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

ALTERNATIVE B - HOW CAN WE FOSTER CREATIVITY?

Rationale

Schools have been severely criticized because of their emphasis on rote-learning, factual tests, and generally lower-order thinking. Educators concerned with these problems tell us the way to creative thinking and problem-solving begins with us as teachers and the kinds of experiences and materials we provide for the students.

Objectives

Upon completion of this alternative, students will be: aware of the various factors of creativity and of ways to enhance those factors in teaching; able to demonstrate to peers at least 3 ways creativity can be fostered in students; able to synthesize verbally findings of several experts who write in the field of creativity.

Materials

(All materials for this alternative except the text chapter and the box of materials may be found on pages 29 through 53 of this book).

Inlow, Gail. "Creativity and Education"

Ragan, Wilson, Ragan. Teaching in the New Elementary School (Text)

Handouts: SCAMPER, Thinking & Feeling Processes, Brainstorming

Box of materials gathered by the student

Worksheet "Helping to Develop Thinking and Feeling Processes"

Environment

The Center

A Classroom (to be announced on the bulletin board)

Activities and Assessment

Read Inlow, pages 29-46

Read "Creative Ways of Teaching and Learning" by Ragan, Wilson, and Ragan, pages 225-237.

Study the handouts - SCAMPER, Thinking & Feeling Processes, and Brainstorming.

Prepare a box of materials for a workshop which includes:

one example for SCAMPERing;
one example for brainstorming; and
one example for creative problem-solving.

Other ideas welcome! Be prepared to test your ideas on your peers.

Before the workshop, complete the worksheet on page 53. It calls for you to develop appropriate ways to measure each other's understanding of creative thinking and feeling processes; a list of terms important to one who is implementing a program of creative development for students; and an activity utilizing these processes in your major area. Take it with you to the workshop!

CREATIVITY AND EDUCATION

by
Gail Inlow

Mental health and creativity, the theme of this chapter, are, in my opinion, inseparable and congenial. Thus, I hasten early to reject the popular notion that creativity is inevitably tinged with a little bit of madness. This issue will undergo development later in the chapter.

During the past several decades, few topics in business, industry, and education have received greater attention than creativity. The business world is always in search of creative managerial personnel, researchers and research, advertising and advertising promotion, production methods, and products. The educational world, relatedly, is ever on the search for creative teachers, learners, curriculums, instructional methods, and materials. In 1950, J.P. Guilford's presidential address entitled "Creativity," delivered before the American Psychological Association, gave the topic what was probably its greatest recent educational thrust.

The substantive term creativity and its adjectival counterpart creative appear almost indiscriminately in "the literature." The Northwestern University Library contains books on creativity bearing the following selective titles: *Creative Brooding*, *The Creative Christ*, *The Creative Dental Technician*, *Creative Collective Bargaining*, *Creative Criticism*, *Creative Demobilization*, *Creative Dance*, *The Creative Elite*, *Creative Federalism*, *Creative Glass Blowing*, *Creative History*, *Creative Judaism*, *Creative Morality*, *Creative Religion*, *Creative Sceptics*, *Creative Suffering*, and *Creative Universities*. In general, creativity goes unquestioned as an esteemed value. In the process of definition, implementation, and assessment, however, it almost habitually stirs up controversy.

DEFINITIONS

Lack of careful definition is a problem that generally plagues creativity. Exactly what, for instance, is creativity? Is it a genetically handed down or an environmentally developed trait? How do creative persons differ from so-called uncreative ones? And so forth? The following definitions should shed some light on these and related questions, depicting creativity, for instance, as:

> Activity resulting in contributions that have novelty and value in the intellectual sphere of human experience, including the sciences, as well as literature, music, and the visual arts. In all such contexts, "creativity" universally implies a departure from, and advance beyond, what is conventionally attainable.[1]

The Emergent in Curriculum, 2nd. edition, Gail Inlow, 1973. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

[1] Jerome B. Wiesner, "Education for Creativity in the Sciences," in Jerome Kagan (ed.), *Creativity and Learning* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 93.

> The emergence in action of a novel relational product, growing out of the uniqueness of the individual on the one hand, and the materials, events, people, or circumstances of his life of the other.[2]
>
> A process whereby one becomes aware of problems, difficulties, gaps in information, and disharmonies for which he has no learned solution; searches for clues in the situation and existing knowledge, formulates hypotheses, tests them, modifies and retests them; and communicates the results.[3]
>
> Bringing something new into birth...a part of self actualization and the representation of the highest degree of emotional health.[4]

The first definition stresses the novelty of the created product; the second, its novelty as a function of the creator's uniqueness; the third, the problem-solving nature of creativity; and the fourth, the process of creation as a correlate of the mental health of the creator.

Add to this potpourri Guilford's conception of creativity as a process of divergent thinking[5] and readers, to say the least, are offered a diversity of options from which to make choices. In lieu of a personalized definition, I have elected instead to identify and briefly discuss the qualities commonly associated with creative products and creative persons.

VALIDATED STANDARDS

First, however, this contextual question needs to be answered. Against what standard should creativity be assessed; specifically, does it lie inside or outside a creating individual? To me, the standard consists of an individual's own creative abilities; thus it resides in him alone. The growing number who hold this view depict creativity as a relative phenomenon which can be the property of the many, thus which is not the exclusive property of an elitist few. Within the framework of this position, an individual, irrespective of the province of his creation -- whether it be in the field of art, music, the novel, science, or some other field -- would be adjudged creative if he measured up to his built-in creative potential.

This position is in contrast to the more traditional one which assesses creativity against an external standard of excellence -- perhaps the art of a Picasso, the music of a Mahler, the writings of a

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[2] Carl R. Rogers, "Toward a Theory of Creativity" in Harold H. Anderson (ed.), Creativity and its Cultivation (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 71.

[3] E.Paul Torrance, "Uniqueness and Creativeness: The School's Role," Educational Leadership (March 1967), p. 495.

[4] Rollo May, "The Nature of Creativity," cited in Anderson, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

[5] J.P. Guilford, "Three Faces of Intellect," American Psychologist, Vol. 14, No. 8 (August 1959), pp. 469-79.

Faulkner, or the atomic research of a Urey. The first position places man in competition with himself; the second, with others.

CREATIVE PRODUCTS, THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

Within the context of either position, certain characteristics stand out as inherent features of creative products.[6] Novelty and appropriateness are two of these.

Novelty

For a product to be creative, it needs first and foremost to be novel. The two terms creative and novel are, in fact, near synonyms. Thus a person to be creative needs to bring something new (or fresh, or unusual) into being -- new, that is, to himself, if internal validation constitutes the criterion standard; or new to the outside world, if external validation constitutes the standard. Illustrative of this quality of novelty in a school milieu are the following: a kindergartner who, during show-and-tell time, narrates an imaginative, if not exactly accurate, account of an episode that transpired the day before; a fifth-grader who, self-motivated, writes his first poem; or a twelfth-grader who seeks out practical applications of the theory of probability that intrigued him in his advanced mathematics course.

Appropriateness

A creative product or behavioral act can, legitimately, be novel but it cannot, legitimately, be fantastic or bizarre. Thus a youngster who draws two-headed people, or who regularly runs clockwise around baseball diamonds, or who wildly exaggerates most episodes in his life, is predicably more pathological than creative. Novelty to be defensible needs the leaven of appropriateness.

CREATIVE PERSONS, THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

The qualities of novelty and appropriateness in creative products are lengthened extensions of human personality. They mirror the characteristics of their creators. In this connection, Torrance, a decade or so ago, extrapolated from "a large" number of personality studies 84 personal traits that had been identified as differentiating more creative individuals from less creative ones. The 84 traits unquestionably overlap. Some are as significant as the following: "Altruistic...Courageous ...Emotionally sensitive, Energetic...(and) Full of curiosity." Others are as naive and categorical as "Bashful outwardly...Defies conventions of courtesy...A fault finder...Appears haughty and self satisfied at times...(and) Radical."[7]

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[6] For much of the content of the present section, I give credit to Philip W. Jackson and Samuel Messick, "The Person, the Product, and the Response: Conceptual Problems in the Assessment of Creativity," in Jerome Kagan, op. cit., cited in ref. 1, pp. 1-17.

Rejecting the scatter-shot approach of Torrance, I have, in this section, zeroed in on a compact constellation of traits that through the ages have tended to characterize highly creative people. The constellation would not, however, necessarily apply to any single creative person.

Openness

Probably the most widely evidenced characteristic of creative persons is openness before life. They approach it expectantly, looking for it to reveal progressively new meanings. And they open themselves to a wide panorama of life, not to just a narrow part of it. The characteristic of openness presumes such supporting traits as spontaneity, flexibility, sensitivity, awareness, tolerance of inconsistency, casual acceptance of uncertainty, and curiosity before the unknown. Carl Rogers suggests that openness "is the opposite of psychological defensiveness...It means lack of rigidity and permeability of boundaries in concepts, beliefs, perceptions and hypotheses."[8] Rollo May, from his existentialist position, suggests that man's encounter with life must be completely open if the rewards are to be creative and great.[9] Schachtel identifies the encounter as a function of the free and open play of attention, thought, and feeling.[10] Drews, in a study of the reading interests of 1000 adolescents, describes the encounter as leading to "an openness that fosters keen awareness of reality within and without themselves...characterized both by a passive receptivity and an active seeking."[11] Paul Tillich perceives the encounter as involving man in shaping "his world and himself,...according to the productive power given him."[12]

Important ingredients of the open encounter are: minds cleansed of distortion and prejudice, minds knowledgeable and informed, and emotions capable of remaining integrated before truth. By way of applying these three attributes to a concrete situation, we take the reader back to the Panama Canal crisis of January, 1964, recalling the following sequential events. (1) Around the turn of the century, the United States, through imperialistic methods, preempted land in a foreign country, built a canal, and assumed control over it. (2) The United States made a financial arrangement with Panama that gave it a share in the operational profits of the canal. (3) These financial arrangements were precursorily reviewed and slightly altered a time or two thereafter. (4) The United States established itself as autonomous in its operational role. (5) In 1959, Panama gained the right to fly its own flag side by side with the American flag. (6) In January of 1964, at a high school in Panama operated by the United States government for children of American Canal officials and employees, a few American students removed the Panamanian flag. This act precipitated a riot that led ultimately to a break in diplomatic relationships between the two countries.

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[7] E. Paul Torrance, Guiding Creative Talent (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1962), pp. 66-67.

[8] Carl R. Rogers, On Becoming a Person (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 353.

[9] Rollo May, "The Nature of Creativity," cited in Anderson, op. cit., pp. 58-61.

[10] Ernest B. Schachtel, Metamorphosis (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 237-238.

[11] Elizabeth M. Drews, "Profile of Creativity," N.E.A. Journal, 52 (January 1963), p. 26.

[12] Paul Tillich, The Courage To Be (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952). p. 104.

Only minds educated to penetrate into the hard core of attitudes, as well as fact, could sustain an open encounter with the social-political situation just described. And those minds would have to be cleansed first of such affective adulterations as prejudice toward "foreigners," delusions of chauvinism, and spurious assumptions about physical possession conveying a legal or moral right. Second, those minds would have to be well informed, not only regarding the affairs of Latin America but also regarding the affairs of the entire world. And finally, they would have to have the emotional strength and resilience to receive, recover from, and then act on, whatever disturbing messages truth had to send them.

One of these messages might be that the United States was ethically and morally wrong in employing imperialistic tactics to annex territory and property outside its boundaries. A dimensionally different second message might be that rightness and wrongness are never irrevocably absolute but are always dependent on the circumstances at any given time and any given era. A third message might be that regardless of what the United States did or did not do at the turn of the century, any resolution of the Panama issue today would have to take into account current as well as past circumstances: the present dangers from opportunistic world powers; the status of old treaties; Panama's ability to operate the canal independently; and the social stake of other countries, large and small, in the canal. The disquieting phenomenon here, as with most value considerations in life, is that absolute correctness or incorrectness does not stand out distinctly. However, to the degree that the encounter remained open, any final decision would be more proper and defensible; to the degree that the encounter underwent premature closure, the decision would be less proper and less defensible.

Nonconformity

Creative individuals in their open encounters with life are habitually exposed to cultural practices, attitudes, and organizational forms that, for various reasons, are inappropriate and thus in need of change. These individuals are analytical enough to perceive the necessity for change and emotionally secure enough to support nonconformist methods of change. Nonconformity, in fact, is one of their dominant traits.

Nonconformists have charted the course of history. Because of them, most Americans no longer believe in animism, warring gods, a flat earth, a fire-and-brimstone hell, "Galen sayeth," witchcraft, Americans as God's anointed, Negroes as subhuman beings, and outer space as the Earth's playground. Because of nonconformists, the theory of evolution gained respectability, free verse became accepted as poetry, the concept of the unconscious mind gained widespread acceptance, the automobile replaced the horse, and Blacks marched on Birmingham.

The nonconformist, by definition, is a divergent individual who thinks and behaves outside the province of existing modes. Yet a line needs to be drawn between nonconformity engaged in for its own sake, and the same trait engaged in to effect change in individuals and cultures. The first is the mark of pathological persons; the second, of creative persons. To the question, How much deviation (or nonconformity) does our society require for progress? Harold Benjamin answers:

> It requires just as much deviation, just as many uniquely developed peaks of ability, just as much idiosyncracy as the attainment of its goals will allow and need. All societies are wasteful of the capacities of their people. That society which comes closest to developing every socially useful idiosyncracy in every one of its members will make the greatest progress toward its goals.[13]

Selfhood

The rationale for nonconformity resides in the concept of selfhood, an individualistic quality that stamps every human being with the mark of uniqueness. As stated by Martin Buber from his existentialist orientation,

> Every person born into this world represents something new, something that never existed before, something original and unique. It is the duty of every person...to know...that there has never been anyone like him in the world, for if there had been someone like him, there would have been no need for him to have been in the world. Every single man is a new thing in the world and is called upon to fulfill his particularity in this world.[14]

Selfhood is the energizer of creativity. It is also the control center that keeps creativity on a positive course. The concept of selfhood commits individual man to know himself including his many capacities, fully develop them, creatively apply them, and autonomously assess them. The creative person is, in a sense, his own psychoanalyst, for, as suggested by Theodore Reik, "nothing we can learn from others reaches us so deep (sic) as that which we find in ourselves."[15]

Agnosticism

Supportive of the already discussed traits of openness, nonconformity, and self identity, is the one of agnosticism before the unvalidated in life. The creative person is, for instance, agnostic -- conceivably even skeptical -- before concepts such as the following: nationalism as an unvarnished cultural value, free enterprise as a completely satisfactory economic mode, black power as a legitimate social goal, technology as an unadulterated boon to mankind, and conflict as an inevitable life phenomenon. The creative person projects his agnosticism across life's total range. He questions all aspects of the status quo: tradition, political authority, cultural forms, and social modes. To him, even time-honored dogma, including religious belief, is not off limits to doubt.

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[13] Harold Benjamin, The Cultivation of Idiosyncrasy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 37.

[14] Martin Buber, Hasidism and Modern Man, edited and translated by Maurice Friedman (New York: Horizon Press, 1958), pp. 139-140.

[15] Theodore Reik, The Search Within, (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1956), p. 264.

A requisite for the creative person who assumes a questioning posture before life is that he first become well informed about life. In this connection, one who questions from a foundation of reasonably complete evidence operates from a defensible base. In contrast, another who despite being uninformed persists in questioning should better hold his peace. For instance a competent artist operating in the field of his specialty has every right to evaluate a given art work. The man in the street turned critic, however, has no comparable right. When he insists on exercising it regardless, his ignorance soon shows through.

Curiosity Before the Unknown

The open encounter with life has a built-in attribute in the trait of curiosity before the unknown. As the creative person follows in the wake of his ever-unfolding world, new vistas call to him to the extent that he is sincerely and spontaneously curious about the new which lies beyond -- the new in people, places, events, and relationships. It is this characteristic of inquisitiveness that leads him to pursue and investigate the unexpected and the novel. Nor do such encounters with the unknown cause him undue concern.

This curiosity before the "not yet" Fromm identifies as the "capacity to be puzzled,"[16] which, he says, customarily precipitates an urge to remove the puzzlement. The mathematician Poincaré relatedly described it as the ability to wonder and to be surprised. This wonderment leads the creating individual, Rogers would say, "to toy with elements and concepts," to juggle them into "impossible juxtapositions."[17] It is this same wonderment that makes an investigator comfortable even in the presence of a wild idea or hypothesis, that makes him willing to take a flight of imaginative fancy either to rule out or to test out a vaguely credible thesis, and that makes him extend his exploratory range to the point of the seeming irrational. This quality of curiosity or wonderment often refuses to accept closure even in the face of seemingly conclusive authority, leading the creative person instead to carry on the pursuit to a point of even greater certainty.

From Divergence to Convergence

To this point, it has been established that the posture of the creative person before his world should be open and receptive, curious, and agnostic. He addresses himself to all of life, he withdraws from none of it, and he remains unfragmented and uncompartmentalized before it. But once the act of creation begins to engulf him, by the very nature of the creative process itself, his focus narrows before the newly imposed restrictions. At one and the same time, he retains the perspective that only openness can provide while he converges on the newly assumed creative task at hand. He becomes selective of ideas, selective of materials, and selective of environmental setting. Then, equipped with these assets, he engages in a disciplined pursuit of the task, making maximum employment of his working materials and natural endowments.[18]

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[16] Erich Fromm, in Anderson, Creativity and Its Cultivation, p. 44.

[17] Carl Rogers, "Toward a Theory of Creativity," p. 76.

It is in this quality of discipline that the more creative individuals stand out from the less creative ones. The former are more likely to reveal tenacity of purpose and effort even in the face of aloneness, anxiety, and failure.[19] The very depth of their commitment seems to exercise a sustaining power over their actions. Like the existentialist prototype, they accept their responsibilities with intensity. In so doing, they look for only a minimum of outside help and make great sacrifice, if necessary, to achieve their creative goals.

From Convergence to Closure

What still awaits, however, is the act of closure. This involves knowing when and where to stop, a decision that is strictly personal and arbitrary: yet not completely arbitrary, because "creative people stop when their criteria are met."[20] The end-product might be a welter of apparently unsymmetrical art flourishes by a first-grader, a new insight into a geometrical relationship by a tenth-grader, or a new social conviction by a twelfth-grader. The point of closure in each instance would be when the individual pupil independently decided that he had accomplished his goals. Whether the accomplishment met, or did not meet, outside standards would be immaterial. Wallas[21] and Patrick,[22] in this connection, assert that closure follows a set sequence of preparation, incubation, illumination, and verification. Some tend to be skeptical of any pattern this mechanical because it may go counter to creativity's individualistic nature.

ISSUES

It is not surprising that creativity, because nebulous in nature and thus incapable of being exactly assessed, raises as many questions as it resolves. The more significant of the unresolved ones are these: (1) To what extent does emotional pathology enter into creativity? (2) Is creativity a conscious or an unconscious activity? (3) What is its relationship to intelligence?

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[18] Arthur Foshay, "The Creative Process," in Alice Miel (ed.), Creativity in Teaching (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1961), pp. 29-36.

[19] Carl Rogers, "Toward a Theory of Creativity," pp. 76-77.

[20] Arthur Foshay, in Miel, Creativity in Teaching, p. 39.

[21] G. Wallas, The Art of Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1926), p. 10.

[22] Catherine Patrick, What is Creative Thinking? (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), pp. 4-46.

The Distorted-Genius Issue

To what extent is emotional pathology an ingredient of creativity? This question has been a controversial one through time, debated in parlor rooms and classrooms, both by neophytes and experts. The popularly held view is that creative people are, almost by definition, tinged with at least a little bit of madness. Cited as evidence are designated geniuses of the past and present who, despite unmistakeable manifestations of neuroticism and/or psychoticism, made, or are making, significant creative contributions in their specialized fields. Illustrative are Beethoven, Blake, Coleridge, Nietzsche, Strindberg, Paganini, Nijinski, Van Gogh, and Thomas Wolfe.

Aligned in opposition to this point of view are such moderns as Fromm, Hilgard, Moustakas, and Rogers whose rebuttal goes something like this.

1. For every Blake, Poe, Gide, or Strindberg in literature, for every Nietzsche in philosophy, for every Nijinski in the ballet, for every Paganini in music, and for every Van Gogh in art, scores of others, more normal and of comparable talent, have made equally commendable contributions.
2. Quite conceivably, the genius of such individuals expressed itself despite their aberrations, not because of them.
3. Assuming that the aberrations had a significant influence on their artistry, a reasonable conclusion is that they affected the nature of the artistic content, not the nature of the intrinsic artistry itself.
4. Finally, assuming an improvement in the emotional stability of such geniuses, it is possible, even probable, that their artistic contributions might have been of even greater import.

The gist of this counter argument is that creativity is a phenomenon not only of imagination but of structure and organization; that a skilled craftsman generally pilots the barque of creativity. This argument is convincing to me.

Creativity, Its Topological Center

Whether creativity is a mentally healthy or pathological phenomenon, is closely allied to the question of whether it is a product of unconscious or conscious processes at work. To assess it in the first way is to align it closely with the primitive and nonrational in man. Those who hold this view, psychoanalytically oriented, for the most part, depict the unconscious mind as a vast storehouse not only of accumulated knowledge but of accumulated imagery and imagination. Relatedly, they hold that ideational content rising from the unconscious mind is elaborated, tested, and rejected or accepted by the conscious mind, with creativity often being the loser.

Others who hold the counter position that creativity is a product of conscious processes at work depict it -- not necessarily exclusively but primarily -- as a rational product, one subject to man's conscious control. Forrest Williams, who holds this view, describes "the act of creation...(as) a perfectly conscious exercise of a certain capacity of human intelligence.[23]

Lawrence Kubie in Neurotic Distortion of the Creative Process, 1958, identifies creativity as neither an unconscious nor a conscious activity, but as a preconscious one. He contends that ideational content residing in the sphere of the preconscious mind is close enough to the surface of the conscious mind to be at its beck and call. In Kubie's position, creativity thus is endowed with the dynamic free-wheeling properties of the unconscious mind while at the same time being subject to the censored control of the conscious mind.

My point of view on the issue under discussion is this. Creativity is a product of both conscious and unconscious activity -- but no more or no less so than thinking, intuiting, and feeling. To me, it is more important for concerned persons to concentrate on components of creativity -- such as imagination and novelty, and on the characteristics of creative persons -- such as spontaneity, nonconformity, and curiosity, than to get mired down in controversial nomenclature and the misty world of psychic-energy processes.

Creativity and the I.Q.

The issue of creativity's relationship to intelligence and the I.Q. has, in the past several decades, elicited widespread reaction from educational researchers and practitioners. The issue is a particularly knotty one in view of the highly abstract nature of the terms creativity and intelligence, and the resulting inability of scholars to conceptualize, define, and evaluate them with exactness. In an attempt to keep the problem within workable limits, researchers have tended to isolate the verbal part of creativity (in contrast to the esthetic part) and relate it to the I.Q.

J.P. Guilford pursued this approach in the late 1950's, making a factor analysis of intelligence. From his analysis, he concluded that intelligence consists of the five subareas of cognition, memory, convergent thinking, divergent thinking, and evaluation. He further concluded that most I.Q. tests relate to only the first three of these -- cognition, memory, and convergent thinking -- thus excluding creativity, the primary province of which is divergent thinking.[24] I.Q. tests call for correct answers. Instruments of divergent thinking, in contrast, call for answers that are novel, that have variety, that result from a creative individual's "searching around in different directions" for answers permeated with these qualities of novelty and variety.

To the extent convergent and divergent thinking are, by definition, contrasting processes, it is not surprising that research consistently reveals a low, zero, or even negative correlation between I.Q. test scores and measures of creativity. And even if I.Q. tests measured intelligence more broadly than along the narrow dimensions of cognition, memory and convergent thinking, it is quite possible that, because of biased sampling, intelligence and creativity would still correlate on only a low order. In this connection, research in the area of creativity sometimes deals with individuals who have such high I.Q.'s that intelligence could not by any stretch of the imagination be a controlling factor. Illustrative here is the Getzels and Jackson study conducted in the early 1960's at the University of Chicago Laboratory School.[25] It dealt with two sample groups possessed of mean I.Q. scores of 127 and 150, respectively. For the two researchers to have left the impression that they had controlled the factor of I.Q. stretched, in my opinion, defensible limits of credibility.

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[23] Forrest Williams, "The Mystique of Unconscious Creation," in Jerome Kagan, cited in ref. 1, p. 150.

[24] J.P. Guilford, "The Three Faces of Intellect," American Psychologist, 14:8 (August 1959), p. 470.

I suggest in conclusion here that research dealing with the relationship between creativity and intelligence has produced more inferential than factual data. For researchers to compare unlike processes such as divergent and convergent thinking is from the start to anticipate, at best, no more than an incidental relationship. The more basic concern of what the relationship actually is between creativity and intelligence, broadly conceived, only the future can answer.

EDUCATION AND CREATIVITY

In the meantime, formal education throughout the country has to decide what its posture will be in regard to creativity. Will it give release to or attempt to stifle spontaneity? Will it exploit or curb creativity in learners? Plato's maxim, "What is honored in a country will be cultivated there" relates to the above questions. It follows from this logic that formal education has to believe strongly in the values of creative people and creative products if it is going to support them. I contend that these values are too important for education not to believe in and support. Thus the issue is one of how, not if.

Teachers as Supportive Persons

What creativity needs from education more than anything else is a climate in which creativity can flower, one contributed to by supportive teachers. It needs to be one permeated with built-in features of creativity itself: openness, tolerance, permissiveness, and so forth. If creativity, as stated in the first of the chapter's definitions, is activity resulting in contributions that have novelty, education can effect this outcome only in a climate productive of novelty. If learners are to think and behave divergently, explore extensively, and question life agnostically, an environment conductive to these outcomes is essential.

Mentally Healthy Teachers

Mentally healthy teachers are fundamental to it. They should, within reason, accept themselves, live in reality, be autonomous, adjust securely to change, be uncompartmentalized, relate empathically to others, perform at optimum levels of efficiency, and have high frustration tolerances. Teachers who approximate the attainment of these outcomes are better able, as a result, to effect the release of creativity both in themselves and in the learners whom they guide. Teachers so endowed become model figures for learners to emulate as they move toward independence.

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[25] Jacob W. Getzels and Philip W. Jackson, Creativity and Intelligence (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 24.

We admit to effecting an apparent paradox in suggesting that creativity, a highly nonconformist phenomenon, can result from emulation, an outright conformist one. The explanation resides in the nature of developmental growth. People are rarely or never exclusively conformist or nonconformist, imitative or original, individualistic or social. Rather they adapt so that they can later differ, extrapolate so that they can better individualize, emulate so that they can more effectively create. As stated by Kagan:

> It may seem inconsistent to state that the child has a strong motive for differentiation and an equally strong motive for maximizing similarity to an adult model. Those two processes behave like a pair of opposing pipers that lead each individual through much of his life.[26]

Teachers contribute to creativity not only by setting personal examples, but by letting the wellsprings of creativity naturally overflow. Apropos is the following thought-provoking statement by Heist:

> What I propose for the educational system...is that it get out of the way of creative individuals. It should not tell them what they must do or the ways in which they must do it. It should provide them with the opportunity, the place, and the platform to explore their own creativity and aid them by providing proper tools whenever possible.[27]

The underlying thesis, a psychoanalytical one, of this indirect approach to "teaching creativity" is that the psychic energy of emotionally healthy individuals will flow spontaneously and productively unless deterred by negative road blocks. The latter might appear in the form of obstructionistic persons or debilitating events. And even these, unless magnified, will not usually be insurmountable. In talking to this point, Kubie asserts that

> ...thinking processes actually are automatic, swift, and spontaneous when allowed to proceed undisturbed by other

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[26] Jerome Kagan (ed.), "Personality and Learning" in Creativity and Learning (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 155.

[27] Paul Heist (ed.), The Creative College Student: An Unmet Challenge (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1968), p.8.

> influences. Therefore, what we need is to be educated in how not to interfere with the inherent capacity of the human mind to think.[28]

Creativity to Kubie, as indicated earlier in the chapter, is a preconscious, motile process; thus it will penetrate into the consciousness and become active if the environment does not deter. Stated relatedly by another analyst, Greenson:

> ...the organism has a given quantity of energy at its disposal. The distribution of these energies may be the decisive factor as to whether or not certain psychic activities gain access to motility and consciousness.[29]

Creative leadership almost begins and ends with the power-with approach elaborated in Chapter 4. It is one that precipitates the release of psychic energy by negating status levels and the consequent fear of authority figures. Leadership thus conceived achieves results from respect for human dignity, friendly encouragement, and service. It avoids the blockages that usually follow in the wake of authoritarianism.

An Appropriate Curriculum

To this point it has been developed that creativity receives indirect support from teacher models who encourage its release by getting out of its way, and receives direct support from teachers loyal to the power-with approach to leadership. An appropriate curriculum, however, is just as essential as desirable teacher characteristics. Such a curriculum is one that, by its very nature, meets students where they are and guides them toward their potentials. It is one that starts with general education, a social curriculum ingredient, injects a diverse blend of exploratory education, a social-individual ingredient, and crowns both with personalized learning experiences, an individualized creative ingredient.

A curriculum capable of developing creativity in learners has to deal in part with factual content but not exclusively so; it has to deal in part with deductive inferences and facts, but not at the sacrifice of inductive ones; it has to open to learners a vast panorama of the world's knowledge but not at the expense of opportunities afforded them to explore selected parts of it deeply.

In regard to this third specification, the issue is whether a curriculum should serve a how much or a how well criterion. The answer is that it should serve both. Yet in serving both it has to be selective in terms of the how much. One reason is that the world's store of knowledge is so vast that formal education can scarcely comprehend it much less telescope it into a curriculum. A second reason resides in the nature of in-depth learning per se, which is too important in its own right to be sacrificed on the altar of the how-much alternative. The underlying thesis here is that a curriculum should transmit enough of the culture -- the controlling skills, a hard core of knowledge, and the governing attitudes -- to enable learners to adapt to their environments, after which the how-well criterion should rise to a place of importance. It is the qualitative way built on the quantitative way that leads to such self-fulfilling and cultural-developing values as reflective thinking, problem solving, and creativity. And these are products of extensive periods of contemplation and depth involvement, neither of which the how-much approach provides.

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[28] Lawrence S. Kubie, Neurotic Distortion of the Creative Process (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1958), pp. 104-105.

[29] Ralph R. Greenson, "The Classic Psychoanalytical Approach," American Handbook of Psychiatry, Part II, Edited by Sylvano Ariete (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), p. 1402.

Graham Wallas' classical depiction of creativity's unfolding developmentally through four time-consuming stages lends support to our how-well curriculum stand. The stages, with paraphrased "for instances," consist of the following:

1. Preparation: daydreaming, postulating, reading, probing, and experimenting.
2. Incubation: digesting, organizing, and synthesizing pertinent information acquired.
3. Illumination: coming forth with the "ah-ha" reaction, the creative flash, the thrill of insight.
4. Verification: testing and validating experimental findings.[30]

Learning Climate and Practices

A curriculum designed to effect creative outcomes is generally no more or no less effective than the instructional practices employed to implement it. Some of these consist of the following:

A Classroom Environment That Is Stimulating. The rationale behind this requirement, one referred to earlier in the chapter, is that creativity will precipitate its own release in an environment conducive to such an outcome. Thus teachers should make classrooms interesting places for learners to think and work in, make available to them a rich variety of learning materials, and make learning stimulating and challenging.

A Classroom Environment That Is Permissive. Such an environment is one characterized by structure but not too much structure. It is one in which teachers like children, respect their many differences, have a high tolerance for agnosticism and disagreement, and adjust flexibly to changing classroom situations.

Learning That Is Self-Initiated As Well As Authority Centered. This specification balances inductive methods against deductive ones, learner independence against instructional authority, and such currently popularized practices as discovery learning and independent study against imitative memory learning. There is a growing consensus that formal education has traditionally been too one-sidely deductive in curriculum content and instructional methodology, too authority centered, and too demanding of imitative responses from learners. The current counter is to place a heavy emphasis on learner autonomy, independent study, and discovery learning. In a very real sense, the progressive-education movement of the 1930's is being relived. Hopefully, formal education will avoid the extremes of that movement by assuming a position wherein institutional authority and student independence complement one another, wherein the traditional and the modern constitute a blend, wherein autho figures transmit significant curriculum content without denying learners valuable opportunities to discover and create on their own.

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[30] Graham Wallas, The Art of Thought (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1926). p. 85.

Discovery learning was the "methods wave" of the 1960 decade. Independent study seems to be the wave of the present one. A Portland, Oregon high school presents the issue to its students in the following way:

> You have been provided with periods of Independent Study Time as part of your weekly schedule. This is in a real sense opportunity time...an opportunity for you to plan and make decisions independently about how you are going to spend your time...they are your decisions and plans...here is your opportunity to show everyone whether you are capable of acting like an independent, responsible person...[31]

Independent study imposes a heavy burden on learners who engage in it. As stated by Griffin, it commits learners to perceive "worthwhile things to do," exercise self-discipline, make "use of human resources," and make "use of material resources."[32] Learners, needless to say, will respond to these requirements in differential ways. The ones who are more serious about developing their creative potentials should not find the requirements out of line.

Students Who Are Allowed To Question and Make Mistakes. Creative learners are agnostic doubters and critics of the status quo. They are also individuals who, like all truly reflective thinkers and scientific investigators, experience failures as well as successes. Thus education's time-worn practice of taking punitive measures against students who make mistakes has to go by the board. If not, creativity will suffer.

History has many times witnessed events that unfolded in the following sequential manner. Certain individuals born into, what was to them, an unsatisfactory status quo became skeptical of it. In acting to change it, their efforts met with disapproval from authority figures. This disapproval customarily precipitated a conflict that forced the dissenters either to develop their convictions openly or to go underground to develop them. Whichever the elected method, the dissenters dared to doubt the existent and to test out their beliefs. In the process, they knew error, but often, because of it, they ultimately achieved the positive. In dreaming their dreams, in having their visions, in persevering toward their goals through error as well as through success, they channeled the course of history.

The message here for education is that learning which is built on doubt, which remains unperturbed before investigative error, which does not always insist on repetitive correctness may well be learning that most nearly meets creativity's specifications. If pupils are to grow imaginatively, they will need to explore their worlds; in the process, they inevitably will make mistakes; then if they can learn from their mistakes, education will be on sounder ground than when continually demanding mechanical correctness in the sterility of the unimaginative. Creation though tinged with error is superior to errorless imitation that never rises above the prosaic.

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[31] James Madison Memorial High School, Handbook on Independent Study, Unpublished (Portland, Oregon, 1970), pp. 1-4.

[32] William M. Griffin. "Schedules, Bells, and Independent Study," in David Beggs and Edward Buffie (eds.), Independent Study (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1965), p. 5.

Teachers Who Do Not Sell Out To Hardware. Education that rises to such heights will have to utilize the best in modern instructional hardware -- computers, teaching machines, programmed books, and the more traditional audiovisual media -- without selling out to its limitations. The issue pits the values of humanism including mental health, reflective thinking, feeling, and creativity against the essentialist, but also important, values of transmitted skills and knowledge. The need is for the latter to serve the purpose of the former -- an admittedly demanding task but not at all an unattainable possibility. As stated provocatively by the educator-philosopher, Harry Broudy:

> ...genuine freedom, individuality, and personhood must be wrested from the impersonal interdependencies of the machine by using its strength, like the judo expert, to power our own efforts.
>
> Never has a tolerably adequate life been less demanding on our talents, our thought, and our character; never has the really good life been more demanding. Because modern technology holds the greatest promise for providing the necessary conditions for the widest variety of forms of the good life, it also holds the greatest promise for those who by their effort can create the sufficient conditions for it.[33]

The primary advantages of instructional hardware -- either electronic or mechanical -- include the following: immediacy of feedback, learning that is individualized, release of teachers from routines, and teachers left with a standing record of learner performance. The primary disadvantages include curriculum narrowness, learning that is essentially imitative, and dependency that mechanical devices foster in learners. In this connection, Michael Wallach expresses concern that "automated instructional devices will inevitably lead to increased emphasis in the schools on whatever it is that can best be taught through the use of these devices."[34]

Wallach's concern is a justifiable one. Its antidote needs to be a curriculum that is mental-health oriented, reflective-thinking oriented, and creativity oriented; one that advances growth not only in simple but in complex concepts; one that reaches beyond the cognitive domain per se into the emotional, social, and ethical domains. Creative people may feed creative programs into teaching machines and computers, but the latter potentially cannot make uncreative people creative.

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[33] Harry S. Broudy, "Teacher Education: To Transmit? To Transform?" Educational Leadership, 28:7 (April 1971), p. 696.

[34] Michael A. Wallach, "Creativity and the Expression of Possibilities" in Jerome Kagan cited in ref. 1, p. 54.

A Classroom Synthesis

From the previous discussion, a creative classroom composite emerges with some or most of these features. Above all else, the classroom is under the leadership of a permissive teacher who has solved enough of his own personal problems to be effective in helping others solve theirs. This teacher believes education's purpose to be one of helping elementary and secondary school children to reach fulfillment in all important areas of development. He conceives the end result of such development to be the creative individual.

Being a realist, however, and thus knowing that creativity pursued to its optimum must be imbedded in the hard rock of skill, knowledge, and technique, he is ever the advocate of thoroughness and competency. Yet, within this framework, he regards these attributes relatively, realizing that some creating individuals, because of their environmental and genetic attributes, will be more thorough and competent; others will be less so.

While conceding that creativity rests more comfortably on a complete foundation, the teacher of the mythical classroom under discussion does not compel creativity to await the completion of the foundation. Rather, whether a teacher of preschool children, of high school students, or of pupils in between, he conceives the creative process or processes as permeating all educational levels and almost all educational activities. Reading, to him, is at once a skill and an avenue to critical thinking. Numbers do not stop with arithmetical manipulations but are made to follow through to interpretation and application. Knowledge is not regarded as something just to be memorized but as substance to be thought about, questioned, and related broadly to a developing world of problems and issues. Realizing that growth is a result of honest mistakes as well as successes, he remains unperturbed and unjudgmental when pupils err, insisting, however, that they analyze the reasons for their errors and that they profit from them.

The essential features of this mythical classroom are not how much but how well, not imitation but assessment, not external pressure but internal motivation, not just enough to get by but complete closure. Education's goal in this classroom is truth. The individual pupil's goal is to become his creative potential, to measure up to his imaginative best. Before these outcomes, the false educational gods of memory, docility, imitation, and most other ultratraditional values and practices yield.

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Thinking and Feeling Processes

Thinking Processes:

Fluent Thinking consists of the generation of a quantity of ideas, plans, or products. The intent is to build a large store of information or material for selective use at a later time.

Flexible Thinking provides for shifts in categories of thought. It involves detours in thinking to include contrasting reasons, differing points of view, alternate plans, and the various aspects of a situation. A variety of kinds of ideas and differing approaches are considered.

Originality is the production of unusual or unanticipated responses. It is characterized by uniqueness and novelty. Responses may be considered original if they are clever, remote, individualistic, uncommon, inventive, or creative in nature.

Elaborative Thinking is the ability to refine, embellish, or enrich an idea, plan, or product. It involves the addition of new and necessary details for clear and complete communication. It is an elegant response, an ornamented idea, or an adorned expansion upon things. Elaboration provides illuminating descriptive dimensions leaving very little to the imagination.

Feeling Processes

Curiosity is evidenced by inquisitiviness, a strong desire to know about something. It is exploratory behavior directed toward acquiring information. It involves the use of all the senses to investigate, test out, and to confirm guesses and hunches about the unfamiliar or unknown.

Willingness to Take a Calculated Risk is activity that involves speculation prediction, wisdom, and foresight. The probability of success and the chance of failure are estimated before action is taken. Risk taking is characterized by the will, disposition,

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and desire to set greater goals in anticipation of greater gains. Consideration for the elements of chance, liking the unknown, adventure, and a tolerance for insecurity are traits common to the risk taker. He may also be described as: perceptive, inquiring, intuitive, and predictive.

Preference for Complexity is a willingness to accept a challenge. It represents a desire to work with or handle involved details and an inclination to dig into knotty problems. Challenges may be in the form of intricate ideas, difficult problems, complex designs, or complicated theories.

Intuition is a perceptive equality that involves quick and keen insight. It is a direct perception of truth or fact independent of reasoning processes. It is the immediate apprehension of untaught knowledge.

SCAMPER TECHNIQUES

S	Substitute	To have a person or thing act or serve in the place of another.
C	Combine	To bring together, to unite.
A	Adapt	To adjust for the purpose of suiting a condition or purpose.
M	Modify	To alter, to change the form or quality.
	Magnify	To enlarge, to make greater in form or quality.
	Minify	To make smaller, lighter, slower, less frequent.
P	Put To Other Uses	To be used for purposes other than originally intended.
E	Eliminate	To remove, omit, or get rid of a quality, part or whole.
R	Reverse	To place opposite or contrary, to turn it around.
	Rearrange	To change order or adjust, different plan, layout or scheme.

Reprinted with permission from D.O.K. Publishers. *Scamper: Games for Imagination Development*, Robert F. Eberle, 1971.

BRAINSTORMING

As a strategy to release creative potential in your students, brainstorming can be very effective. Brainstorming requires practice and the rules need to be reviewed often. A question or problem is usually asked or discussed such as: How could we settle that problem; how many ways could we think of to use that object; in what ways could we manage to solve that?

Rules for brainstorming are:

1. Quantity of ideas is sought--the more the better;
2. Encourage far-out ideas;
3. Build on each idea--this is really a group endeavor;
4. Welcome all ideas--no criticism allowed;
5. Record every idea by key word or phrase
6. Limit the time for accepting ideas--announce it ahead of time and stick to it!

Take this completed sheet to the Alternative B Workshop

Worksheet for Alternative B
HELPING TO DEVELOP THINKING AND FEELING PROCESSES

List terms important to you (in your major area) as you help your students develop creativity.

Develop one activity in your major area which would facilitate a thinking/feeling process. Share it with your group at the workshop.

Think of an appropriate way to check your peer's understanding of thinking/feeling process. Jot it down.

SAMPLE

Your name ______________________ 3010 3040

(Please circle one)

Turn this sheet in at the end of the workshop!

Take this completed sheet to the Alternative B Workshop

Worksheet for Alternative B
HELPING TO DEVELOP THINKING AND FEELING PROCESSES

List terms important to you (in your major area) as you help your students develop creativity.

____

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Develop one activity in your major area which could facilitate a thinking/feeling process. Share it with your group at the workshop.

____

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____

Think of an appropriate way to check your peer's understanding of thinking/feeling process. Jot it down.

____

____

____

Your name ____________________ 3010 3040

(Please circle one)

Turn this sheet in at the end of the workshop!

ALTERNATIVE C - WHAT COULD EVALUATION BE?

Rationale

All too often teachers get evaluation and grading confused. A letter or a number is put down as though one mark on a paper could characterize the learning achieved by a student. An appreciation of evaluation to direct further student learning is needed. Prospective teachers must be aware of the pitfalls of relying too much on pencil and paper tests for evaluation of students. They must be aware of the difficulties inherent in constructing and grading so-called objective and subjective tests.

Objectives

Upon completion of this alternative the student will be able to: list weaknesses of present grading practices; intelligently discuss alternatives to pencil and paper tests for grades. Actual test construction is beyond the scope of this alternative, but prospective teachers should be thinking about their philosophy of evaluation now.

Materials

Kirschenbaum et. al. Wad-Ja-Get? Hart publishers, NYC, 1971; ASU Bookstore; or copies are also available in the Center.

Ragan, Wilson and Ragan. Teaching in the New Elementary School.

Environment

The Center

Seminar room (to be announced on the bulletin board).

Activities and Assessment

Read the section in Ragan, Wilson and Ragan on evaluation, pages 304-327.

Read the book Wad-Ja-Get?
Students are urged to also read the appendices (A&B) for they are a valuable part of the book.

The student will attend a seminar on the readings after completing the Reaction Sheet on the next page.

Take this completed sheet to your seminar discussion.

Reaction Sheet to Alternative C
WHAT COULD EVALUATION BE?

What weaknesses do you perceive in present, usual grading practices?

List as many alternatives to present practices as you can.

Describe your views of evaluation as it should be.

Your name ____________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

Turn this sheet in after the seminar.

SAMPLE

Take this completed sheet to your seminar discussion.

Reaction Sheet to Alternative C
WHAT COULD EVALUATION BE?

What weaknesses do you perceive in present, usual grading practices?

List as many alternatives to present practices as you can.

Describe your views of evaluation as it could be.

Your name ____________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

Turn this sheet in after the seminar.

ALTERNATIVE D - WHAT'S "IN" NOW?

Rationale

Innovation in education is bringing some exciting ideas as well as soul searching for the prospective teacher. The purpose of this alternative is to acquaint you with several emerging concepts, concerns, and instructional strategies.

Objectives

Upon completion of this alternative the student will be able to discuss some of the emerging concepts, concerns, and instructional strategies which may be relevant to his/her expected teaching experience. It is beyond the scope of Alternative D to provide comprehensive coverage of the many new concepts and concerns in the educational field today. The alternative represents, instead, selected topics by the instructors of the course. It is hoped, however, that further study may be stimulated through this cursory view.

Materials (to be found in this book unless otherwise noted)

Learning Centers

George, Paul, et al. "Learning Center Study Guide."

Independent Study

Ragan, Wilson and Ragan. "Instructional Technology" from *Teaching in the New Elementary School*. (Text)

Fasteau, Marc. "The Male Machine. The High Price of Macho."

Rice, Berkley. "The Power of a Frilly Apron Coming of Age in Sodom and New Milford."

Bem, Sandra L. "Androgony Vs. the Tight Little Lives of Fluffy Women and Chesty Men."

Oliva, Peter F. "Current Curricular Practices and Plans" from *The Secondary School Today*. (Center, 266)

Macdonald, Susan Colberg, and James B. Macdonald "Women's Liberation and Human Liberation."

Reaction Sheet

Environment

A classroom for discussion group (number to be announced on the bulletin board)

Activities and Assessment

Readings as listed above in Materials

Prepare a one or two paragraph reaction to each of the selected topics of the readings.

Using your reaction paper as a basis for discussion, participate in a seminar with your peers and one of the course instructors. (Time and place announced on bulletin board. Remember to sign up!)

LEARNING CENTERS

Learning Centers have gained popularity with public school teachers in the past few years. A Learning Center may be defined as that area of the class space designated for a particular subject, topic, skill, process or interest. Materials, equipment and supplies are usually located therein and the area becomes one which is self-sufficent.

Three major reasons for the Learning Center trend are: (1) The effort to help students become self-directed, self-initiated, independent learners; (2) As our knowledge about the learner grows, we have realized that various modes of instruction are essential to meet individual learning styles; and (3) Increased availability and use of technology has also aided our pursuit of personalization of instruction.

On the following pages, you will find a Learning Center Study Guide, Further Guidelines and an example of one learning center developed for interdisciplinary study. As you study the material, try to envision your use of learning centers. What topics within your major field might be appropriate? What interests might youngsters have upon which you could capitalize? Which skills would lend themselves to independent learning?

LEARNING CENTER STUDY GUIDE

Part One: Introduction

1. An overview of the purposes activity of the center
2. Prerequisites for successful completion
3. Directions for completing the station must be very complete. A "flow chart" is often helpful

Part Two: Objectives

1. General goals and expected outcome(s).
2. Specific behavioral objectives

Part Three: Preassessment

1. A pre-test that the student may use to determine whether he will profit from a particular activity. If he passes the pre-test he may proceed to another center or other pre-determined activity (e.g., independent study).

Part Four: Learning Activities

1. Specific learning activities for each objective specified in part two. There should be several alternative activities for each objective.

Part Five: Post Assessment

1. A self-administered (when possible) device which tells the student how successful he has been.
2. Ideally, the results of the post-assessment should suggest which parts of the center the student should go ahead or back to.

Part Six: Materials—All the materials necessary to use the center.

Further Guidelines

There are a number of questions a teacher should ask herself when planning a learning center. They are:

1. What will be the theme or focus of the center?
2. What specific objectives for students' learning should the center's activities achieve?
   - —skills and capabilities
   - —concepts
   - —attitudes
3. What activities and materials might be most appropriate to the achievement of the objectives?
4. How will records of students efforts be kept? Who will keep them?

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5. What assessment procedures will be used to determine student achievement?
6. How well will the center work?
    a. Will it capture students' interests?
    b. Will it maintain students' involvement?
    c. Will the directions be clear and easy to follow?
    d. Will it encourage extensions of learning activities by the students?
    e. Will the center result in a display of students' work?

THE CENTER'S THEME: A STUDY OF FLIGHT

Objectives for the Major Focus of Students' Learnings:

___To enable students to raise questions about flight, collect data, and find answers to the questions.

___To develop skills of recording collected data (keeping observational reports and making charts and graphs).

___To encourage students to express their thoughts and feelings about flight through language and art media.

ACTIVITIES:

The activities described here present a variety of possibilities for learning. The depth of each would, of course, have to be adjusted to the level of maturity of the children.

Exploring Bird Wings

Materials: Bones from chicken wings (obtained by boiling, scraping, and drying the bones from the wings of broilers or fryers)
Specimens of bones from bird wings obtained from a local museum or the Audubon Society
Pan balance scale
Tape measure

Set of chicken wings bones are contained in bags labeled: "Bag of Bones." These are accompanied by instructions such as:

1. Look at the bones in the bag. Feel them. What animal do you think they come from? What are they used for? (Older children may discuss their answers to the questions with one another. Pictures showing bone formations of various body parts in animals and man may be put on display to assist the children in identification. Younger children may be asked to match the chicken bones to pictures and diagrams of bones from different animals for identification. Envelopes containing the correct answer may be made available to the students after identification is attempted.)

2. Having identified the bones as chicken wings, the students may be directed to explore the question: Why can't chickens fly?

    a. Use the tape measure to measure the chicken bones. Record the length of each on the chart. Do the same thing for the bones of other birds on display.

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	Length in Inches/Centimeters			
	Bone No. 1	Bone No. 2	Bone No. 3	Bone No. 4
Chicken				
Robin				
Seagull				
Falcon				

b. Weight the bones of each bird. Record the weight on the chart.

	Weight in Ounces/Grams			
	Bone No. 1	Bone No. 2	Bone No. 3	Bone No. 4
Chicken				
Robin				
Seagull				
Falcon				

c. What differences do you find between the length and weight of chicken wing bones and the wing bones of flying birds?

Depending on the age of the students, questions and directions may lead them to measure the length, width, and weight of bones in varied ways, using different units of measurement. Further, students may be asked to graph, in histogram form, the data they collected from measurement activities. Even young children may be able to make histograms to compare and contrast the length of each bone to paste side by side on construction paper backing.

Other activities with chicken wing bones might include:

- --sketching bone structure
- --stringing bones to recreate wing form.
- --researching the number of bones in various parts of the bodies of animals and humans.
- --exploring mystery bone bags which contain bones from various animals and the human body. Students might create their own mystery bone bags for another to inquire into.

Making and Testing Paper Airplanes

Materials: Paper of various weights such as tissue, newspaper, bond, construction paper, and oaktag
Stopwatch
Measuring Tape
Patterns of different types of paper airplanes such as those contained in:
Mander, Jerry, George Dippel, and Howard Gossage. The Great International Paper Airplane Book. New York, N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1967.

The materials are displayed with examples of paper airplanes and patterns for making a variety of types with instructions such as:

a. Choose a type of paper airplane to make. Find the pattern.

b. Make an airplane using at least three different types of paper. Give each airplane a number.

c. Test the airplanes you have made to see how long they stay in the air (airborne time) by using the stopwatch. Record your findings on the chart.

Airborne Time of Paper Airplanes

	Airplane No. 1	Airplane No. 2	Airplane No. 3
Time in Air			
Trial 1			
Trial 2			
Trail 3			

d. Using the tape measure, mark the launch site. Find the distance each plane flies by measuring from the launch site to the landing site. Record this on your chart.

Distance Traveled by Paper Airplanes

	Airplane No. 1	Airplane No. 2	Airplane No. 3
Distance Traveled			
Trial 1			
Trial 2			
Trial 3			

e. Compare airborne times and distance traveled by the airplanes you made. Which stayed in the air longest? Covered the greatest distance? Why?

f. Try adding and subtracting parts from your airplanes. Test them again for airborne time and distance flown. Add this information to your chart.

g. Graph the airborne time for the two planes which were most different in ability to fly. Why do you think they were so different?

Additional activities with paper airplanes might include:

--experimentation with simple paper airplanes with the recording of data through paintings and dictated captions or experience stories.

--building balsa wood gliders to test for airborne time and flying distance. (This could lead to research on wing structure of birds and airplanes and the influence of air pressure on flying capabilities.)

--studying the historical development of airplanes and man's quest for flight.

--creative expression through writing and art about things that fly and the feeling of flight.

--written and oral reporting of experiences and experiments with paper airplanes and balsa gliders.

--making slides of the process of folding and testing the paper airplanes along with a tape recorded narration giving instructions on how to do it.

--making books which contain samples and/or pictures of airplanes created along with captions or experience stories.

LISTENING AND VIEWING AREA

This part of the center might include a variety of visual and auditory materials and activities designed to stimulate students' expression of ideas and emotions. The following activities are representative examples:

1. Slides and Guides
   a. A series of slides depicting various situations of birds and men in flight could be set up using a carousel projector and a simple, small homemade screen or a handviewer. Students may be carefully directed in their viewing by study guides containing fairly specific questions. Or they may be asked to look and react in more open-ended ways.
   b. A variation of the above could be the addition of music for a multi-media presentation on flight. Students would be guided to look and listen for specific things. Or as in "a", they may be asked to look, listen, and react in their own way.
   c. A third alternative might involve in depth exploration of one particular slide. Students again would respond to questions in a study form guide format. These questions could focus on any or all of the levels of thinking from simple recall or "what do you see?" to questions which require divergent or evaluative thinking such as "How would you feel if you were there?"
   (Slides might show real scenes or they may be made from pictures in books at relatively inexpensive cost. Films can also be used in the same manner.)

2. Listening and Looking
   A listening station could be set up in which taped excerpts from Jonathan Livingston Seagull are heard as students look at pictures from the book. A discussion of concepts such as freedom, power, and competence could then be held by groups of students as a follow-up activit

3. Other possibilities for activities related to either of the above stimuli might include:
   a. Oral language development through discussion, role play, or creative dramatic activities depicting, for example, the life of Jonathan Livingston Seagull.
   b. Writing activities such as stories about the slide pictures, the seagull, flight, the music, or other birds, flying objects, and space might be developed. Cinquain or haiku poetry could also be used as vehicles for student expression related to the above topics or others. Any number of brain-storming activities might aid in the expansion of vocabulary. For example, students might list all the words that describe their feelings about things they heard while experiencing the multi-media presentation.
   c. Art activities using media such as paint, chalk, scraps for collage, crayons, pencil can be used as means for the expression of ideas developed from the listening and viewing stimuli. Construction

is another possibility. Original birds could be created using any number of materials or, perhaps, students might wish to create the view from Jonathan's eyes or a diorama depicting some scene from the story.
Students can be encouraged to react to the original stimuli of visuals and sound in any number of ways. In this instance, almost anything goes because the intent is to facilitate students' expression of ideas and feelings using a variety of media and modes of expression.

INTRODUCING THE CENTER

Once the center's activities have been selected and prepared for student use, the teacher may wish to introduce the center to the total class, especially if students have little experience in working at centers. In addition to orienting the class to the activities at the center and determining who may do what, when, the teacher might conduct an introductory lesson on flight, perhaps using inquiry procedures and/or visuals. The idea is to acquaint students with the center's theme and generate their interest in working through center activities.

RECORDS OF STUDENT'S WORK:

Flight Folders (to be put together by the child). The work completed for each activity will be included in each child's folder.

Checklists (to be kept by the teacher).

Objectives	Students' Names
Raising questions	
Collectiong data	
Answering questions	
Keeping observational reports	
Making charts and graphs	
Expressing thoughts and feelings through language art media	
Comments	

The students working at the center over a number of days or weeks will be observed by the teacher who will focus attention on different students over time. When a student is observed to raise questions or do any of the things listed on the checklist, the date of that observation is noted under his name in the appropriate box.

Student Self-evaluations (to be completed by each student using a form for all activities and their products).

1. I think the work I did on this activity was:

   ____

   Good So-so Poor

2. If I were to do this activity again, I would improve my work by doing these things:

3. Another way I could learn about flight is by doing this:

4. I thought this activity was:

These self-evaluations would be completed for each activity, attached to the product of the activity, and placed in the student's Flight Folder.

ASSESSMENT OF STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

The teacher may wish to use one or more of the following:

1. Examine work in students' folders to evaluate the degree to which objectives are being met.
2. Conference with students to review self-evaluation and checklist notations
3. Assign an activity which requires students to use the skills and capabilities previously developed at the center. An example is:

Design Your Own Flying Machine

Teachers might ask students to create an original flying machine using any materials available at school or at home. The following guidelines for completion of the project could be suggested:

A. Design an original flying machine on paper. Develop a "blueprint". Check your design for the following:
   1. Does your machine have the parts necessary to fly? If not, what do you think is missing?
   2. How is it like other things that fly?
      How is it different?
   3. What will you need to construct it? List the materials.
   4. Estimate the "airborne time" and distance capacity for your machine. Record on a chart.

   Check these plans with your teacher. Revise if necessary.

B. Make your flying machine. Show it to your teacher and other students discussing the risks you will be taking in attempting to fly it. Try it out keeping a record of the airborne time and flying distance. Compare with your orginal estimate. Try flying the machine several times. Make a chart or graph that will show the results of your flight. If you wish, compare the flying ability of your machine with another student's.

C. Find a partner and switch machines. Using art, writing, or both, express your feelings and ideas about your own flying machine.

----or----

Communicate, using any media, something about your own flying machine.

The process of designing, creating, and using the flying machine and recording the results should give the teacher a good reading as to the student's degree of objective achievement. In this process, it will be necessary to raise questions, collect data, answer questions, and record data. The final product will represent an expression of students' thoughts and feelings about flight.

CENTER SUITABILITY

The teacher may wish to apply the following checklist to the evaluation of the center. In addition, student self-evaluation sheets can be examined for comments which reflect the success of center activities in promoting student involvement and learning.

1. Did the center capture students' interest?

   /1 /2 /3 /4 /5
   High Low

2. Did it maintain students' involvement?

   /1 /2 /3 /4 /5
   High Low

3. Were the directions clear and easy to follow?

   /1 /2 /3 /4 /5
   High Low

4. Did it encourage extensions of learning activities by students?

   /1 /2 /3 /4 /5
   High Low

5. Did it result in a display of students' work?

   /1 /2 /3 /4 /5
   High Low

INDEPENDENT STUDY

With new emphasis on developing learner independence, the concept of independent study is a viable component of the curriculum. It may be pursued as an integral part of organized knowledge, learners' interests or learning skills. It seems appropriate at all levels of schooling in all areas of the curriculum. Obviously, the more mature a student is as a learner, the more competence he or she will demonstrate in independent study.

During independent study time, the students concentrate on individual assignments. Their choice of topics, often from a list made available to them by the teacher, may be developed within a particular academic area. The teacher is available throughout the process to suggest alternatives or provide guidance. Guidelines for the study are predetermined, although flexibility should be a key factor. After the study is complete, it is carefully diagnosed and further skill exercises may be suggested.

The evaluation of the independent study is done by the student and teacher cooperatively. If there is a "product" involved, such as a model, collage, tape, booklet, or report, it is frequently shared with one's peers or displayed for others to see.

A plan for independent study may typically consist of:

1. Assigning special times for the purposes of independent study;
2. Having students independently explore possible areas of interest and/or brainstorming with the group;
3. Determining guidelines, procedures and parameters of the study process with the group, including a contract of study;
4. Identifying resources available for the students;
5. Brainstorm kinds of activities and products which might be possible;
6. Determining methods and procedures of reporting and evaluating with the teacher, with peers, and with the students himself/herself.

THE MALE MACHINE
THE HIGH PRICE OF MACHO

by
Marc Feigen Fasteau

The male machine is a special kind of being, different from women, children, and men who don't measure up. He is functional, designed mainly for work. He is programed to tackle jobs, override obstacles, attack problems, overcome difficulties, and always seize the offensive. He will take on any task that can be presented to him in a competitive framework. His most positive reinforcement is victory.

He has armor plating that is virtually impregnable. His circuits are never scrambled or overrun by irrelevant personal signals. He dominates and outperforms his fellows, although without excessive flashing of lights or clashing of gears. His relationship with other male machines is one of respect but not intimacy; it is difficult for him to connect his internal circuits to those of others. In fact, his internal circuitry is something of a mystery to him and is maintained primarily by humans of the opposite sex.

The foregoing is, of course, a stereotype, an ideal that fits no one exactly. Yet stereotypes, exist and exert influence because they are believed a lot of the time by large numbers of people, and the image of the male machine (described more fully in my book The Male Machine, McGraw-Hill, 1974) remains the standard against which half the population judge themselves.

Boys learn the masculine ideal very early. Michael Lewis (see, "There's no Unisex in the Nursery", PT, May 1972) showed, for example, that after the age of six months, boys are picked up and hugged less than girls. The gap widens as children grow older, with boys discouraged from asking for human attention and pressured toward autonomy.

By five or six, boys know they aren't supposed to cry, ever be afraid or, and this is the essence of the stereotype, be anything like girls. That is why calling another boy "a girl" is the worst thing one boy can say to another, and why little boys hate little girls. The strain of trying to pretend that we have no "feminine" feelings of doubt, disappointment, need for love and tenderness creates fear of these emotions in ourselves and hostility toward women, who symbolize these qualities.

The attempt to live up to the male stereotype affects almost every area of men's lives. Friendships between men are often made shallow and unrewarding by the constant undertone of competition and the need to always put up a tough, impersonal front. The effort to be invulnerable and avoid emotion leads to mechanical sex and, when pushed to extremes, to impotence. The notion that we must be perfect Lotharios directing the sexual scene with cool dominance, locks us (and the women with whom we make love), into playing the same roles every time, discouraging spontaneity and variety.

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The masculine stereotype makes sports into a compulsion rather than a convivial pleasure. Because violence is viewed as a male restorative, a way of getting in touch with the deepest roots of our maleness, the masculine stereotype makes men resort to it faster in personal relationships and in public policy. The male ideal tells us that to be real men we must be different from and superior to women, and thereby makes discrimination against women at work in social clubs and at home an essential prop for masculine self-esteem. The male premium on never losing, or always being and appearing tough, played a major role in keeping us in Vietnam after it became clear that loss of face ("national honor") was the only cost of getting out.

The tragedy, as Sandra Bem found in the research she reports here, is that men are fighting their nature as human beings in trying to conform to the male ideal. "Male" and "female" characteristics are present in both men and women, although our culture has done its best to obscure this fact. Through feminism, women have already begun to recognize this basic truth and to reclaim the side of life they have been shut out of. Perhaps in the future, men too, will stop paying the high price of a restrictive and artificially polarized sex-role. Perhaps our lives will be shaped by a view of personality that will not assign fixed ways of behaving on the basis of sex. Acceptance of androgyny would allow us instead to acknowledge that each person has the potential to be--depending on the circumstances --both assertive and yielding, independent and dependent, job-and people oriented, strong and gentle; that the most effective and happy individuals are likely to be those who have accepted and developed both the "masculine" and "feminine" sides of themselves, and that to deny either is to mutilate and deform.

THE POWER OF A FRILLY APRON
COMING OF AGE IN SODOM AND NEW MILFORD

by
Berkeley Rice

APRONS SEEN AS DANGER TO SEXUAL ROLE...Baptists ministers...threatening to sue school officials over required sixth-grade home economics courses."

According to the Associated Press story from New Milford, Connecticut, the Reverend Lynn Mays, pastor of that town's Faith Baptist Temple, felt that, "By having a young boy cook or sew, wearing an apron, we're pushing a boy into homosexuality."

"It's all part of the unisex thing going on in this country," he told me when I called on him later. "They're turning boys into girls and vice versa, trying to break down the barriers between the sexes."

While the pastor's concern about the danger of teenage boys learning how to cook and sew may strike some readers as odd, the breakdown of sexual barriers troubles many Americans. They read with alarm about married couples swinging, unmarried couples cohabitating, and women taking jobs as firemen or telephone linemen. Millions of rational, socially conservative people believe in the traditional notions of sex roles and behavior. They consider the breakdown of sexual barriers as evidence of the destruction of a social order in which everything has its proper place.

MASCULINE TRAITS VS. FEMININE STUFF

Whether anyone likes it or not, the sex roles are a'changing, and many liberal Americans are glad. Some social scientists even claim an androgynous mixture of supposedly masculine and feminine traits is psychologically healthier. (See "Androgyny Vs. the Tight Little Lives of Fluffy Women and Chesty Men.")

But one man's social progress is another man's social decay. For example, the Reverend Mays's assistant pastor, James Clemmons, says: "I'm no psychologist, but I know it's true that ages nine to 13 are the most important part of a child's sexual development. Everyone has homosexual tendencies, and this feminine stuff being taught is bringing about the moral decay of children."

To find out how far moral decay had gone, I went to visit New Milford and its embattled ministers. Nestled in the rolling countryside of western Connecticut, New Milford has the charm of a New England picture calendar, complete with white steepled church and village green. Its exurban proximity to New York City, however, makes it a sophisticated little community, hardly a rural boondock ripe for rabble-rousing.

TROUBLE RIGHT HERE IN NEW MILFORD

The trouble started last year when the Schaghticoke Middle School (grades six to eight) integrated boys and girls in its sixth-grade home-economics and industrial-arts classes. The school acted in response to Federal

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regulations on equality of education, plus some prodding from the local chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Until the ministers objected, the program had been running quite smoothly, with no apparent opposition from the students. The classes met once a week for 45 minutes, with half the year devoted to home ec. and half to woodworking, metal work, and other manly pursuits. Attendance at both was required for all sixth-graders, giving them the basis for deciding which to continue in the seventh and eighth grades when the choice becomes optional.

Only time will tell how many boys choose to continue with home ec. But it's worth noting that 15 seventh-grade girls and 40 eighth-grade girls elected to take industrial arts last year, and an optional minicourse in cooking for boys was filled to capacity.

The battle of New Milford flared up late last November when a group of adults from the Faith Baptist Temple led by the Reverends Mays and Clemmons showed up at the monthly Board of Education meeting to protest the mandatory sexual integration. Reading passages from the Bible to prove his point, Mays told the audience, "When God set up the human race there was a division of sexes. A woman's place is in the home. That's where God put them...God created human beings in a certain way and it makes no difference if women libbers agree." Mays said he would have been "petrified" if anyone had ordered him to take home ec. when he was a sixth-grader.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO HOOVER

The Reverend Clemmons read from a book by J. Edgar Hoover on how to guard against a Communist takeover. One trend to watch for, according to Clemmons, is any attempt to turn men into homosexuals. Forcing boys to take cooking lessons struck Clemmons as a perfect example of what Hoover meant. "I'll take my son out of school before I'll let him take this course", Clemmons said. "We'll take it to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary. My son doesn't want the course and I don't want him to be a sissy."

Several other townspeople spoke for and against the ministers' position. One said he was neither a homosexual nor a Communist, but believed in the value of the integrated courses at Schaghticoke. "This exposure is important for every student", he said. "I am kind of disturbed when I hear masculinity or femininity lies in the balance of one course at the middle-school level".

While that evening's meeting was certainly the most stimulating the Board of Education had held in years, the whole affair might have remained a local one had the Associated Press not gotten wind of it. Once the AP story went out over the wires, and appeared in papers across the country, New Milford found itself involved in a national media event.

The pressure forced the Board of Education to hold a press conference for reporters and network TV crews in the lunchroom of the Pettibone school. J. Thomas Eagan, a local businessman serving as Board chairman, outlined the history and philosophy of the home economics integration, and said only two families (both members of Faith Baptist Temple) had demanded that their children be excused from the course. Caring less about educational philosophy than a good news lead, the reporters asked Eagan if there was any evidence yet that the course was turning boys into "sissies and homosexuals". Eagan said there was none.

In his column in that week's edition of The New Milford Times, editor Jim Stuart called the whole affair absurd, and said the only ones who would suffer would be the children "forced to observe the caterwauling of adults".

MECHANICS, MARINES AND MESS-HALL DUTY

During the following months, New Milford's citizens endured a good deal of caterwauling in the paper's Letters to the Editor section. Many of the letters came from out of state. Dozens of outraged readers wrote in to protest the ministers' sexist views on education, dozens of others told personal tales illustrating the value of teaching both boys and girls how to cook and sew, and how to use tools. A New Milford resident wrote: "Most of us have at one time or another eaten meals prepared by females who should never be allowed near a stove, and have tried to drive cars repaired by male mechanics who should have been well cooked on these stoves". An ex-Marine from Maryland asked the Reverend Mays if he assumed that "every veteran is a queer because he once stood mess-hall duty, or sewed on a new pair of chevrons after promotion?' An official of the Oregon Restaurant and Beverage Association deplored "the damage which such ill-chosen remarks might inflict on young men who might someday aspire to take up cooking as their profession."

While most of the letter writers expressed scorn or laughter, many defended the ministers. Several claimed the press had distorted the dispute by concentrating on the question of homosexuality rather than the compulsory nature of the courses. One local woman argued that the ministers were simply "fighting for...the freedom to choose... We are losing our God-given right and privilege to raise our children the way we choose." Another woman criticized the local paper for "poking fun at the two courageous Baptist ministers......Indeed, instead of the subtle, bigoted writing against these good men, there should be thanksgiving for alerting us."

When I called the Reverend Mays he invited me out for a visit to his tidy little ranch house a few miles from the center of town. He welcomed me into a pine paneled living room full of colonial-style furniture, with a gun rack holding two rifles and a shotgun over the fireplace.

A short, stocky man in his mid 40's the Reverend Mays grew up in the hill country of western Pennsylvania and attended a Bible college in Texas. He worked for many years as an electrician in Arkansas, "pastoring on the side", before moving North. He came to New Milford about five years ago as pastor of its Bible Baptist Church. But his evangelical fervor and plans for expanding the church's activities proved too vigorous for the majority of its members ("They just didn't believe in winning souls"), so Mays resigned and started Faith Baptist Temple with a splinter group of 30 loyal adherents. Since then, his new church has grown to a membership of nearly 200, and operates several buses that bring in the faithful from surrounding communities.

I asked if Mays thought the newspaper accounts had distorted his views by overemphasizing the homosexuality issue. Yes, he felt the press had largely ignored his concern for the mandatory nature of the course, but insisted, "I still believe the course has a tendency to homosexuality. You take some boys that have homosexual tendencies; this could be the thing that tips the scales."

BIRTH CONTROL AND INTEGRATED GYM

Once started on this topic, Mays grew voluble: "This NOW group is even trying to integrate the gym classes sexually. And they're trying to teach all this junk like sex education. Why up in Litchfield they're actually teaching 11th and 12th grade girls actual birth-control techniques.....I don't like them using my kids for guinea pigs. They don't know what effect it'll have on the kids' morals...If I want my child to learn these things I'll do it myself.

"The way the schools are pushing things on our kids today is just terrible. I've got this all documented right here. My daughter comes right home and reports to me on everything they're trying to do: sex education, sensitivity training, personality testing, ESP.

"They're infringing on the rights of the home and parenthood. It's an insidious attempt by the state to take control of the kids and their moral training. Our society has been built upon the sanctity of the home. If they destroy that they'll destroy America..."

I interrupted to ask whether any other local church groups shared his views. "To be honest", he replied, "there's not another preacher in town who's supported me, or even said anything. Not a peep out of 'em. Of course, we're the only real fundamentalist Bible church in town. The rest of 'em are of a liberal nature". "When I asked if he had received any local support, Mays admitted most of his supporters were members of his own church". Most people aren't doing anything about this. But we are. We'll make them listen to us.

PERVERSION IN THE SCHOOLS

As I left to return to my hotel, Mays gave me a Baptist booklet entitled "Satan's Bid for Your Child", which he commended for telling the whole story about what's happening in the schools. It warned parents about "left-wingers, sex perverts and Sweden-oriented teachers who are taking over out schools and ruining our kids" with dirty books, drugs, rock music, and sex education. As an example of the evils of sex education, the booklet described a book on "How Babies Are Made", that shows such perversions as chickens and dogs "in the act," Mom and Dad in bed together, "climaxed with a few pictures of a nude mother giving birth to a baby who was conceived several pages earlier".

At the Reverend May's invitation, I returned to his home that evening for what he called a strategy session with his associate, Brother Clemmons, whom he described as a "good ol' country boy" from Arkansas. A hulking man in his mid 30's, Clemmons had also attended a southern Bible college, and now works at a New Milford machine shop.

The other member of the strategy group was Alton Wheeler, a serious young man active in the local John Birch Society. As I pulled into May's driveway, Wheeler was just getting out of his car, which had bumper stickers urging "Get Us Out of United Nations," and Support Your Local Police." Before the meeting got under way, he wandered into the kitchen and examined Mays's daughter's textbooks for traces of left-wing influence.

Mays had piled on his coffee table all the correspondence and literature he had accumulated since his notoriety began. "We got letters from London, Spain, Hawaii, Kansas, Israel and Canada", he told me. "We threw away a lot of 'em because they were X-rated." The Reverend Clemmons added: "We got letters from homosexuals, lesbians, right down the line."

Rummaging through the piles, I found letters of support from a teacher in West Virginia, a guidance counselor in Maryland, and several different groups of parents upset about the moral decline of schools in other parts of the country.

The Reverend Carl McIntire, a nationally known radio preacher, wrote: "Keep up the good work. God bless you." He enclosed a request for contributions to the building fund of his Florida church.

A doctor at the Menninger Foundation shared their outrage at the erosion of sexual standards, and enclosed a news clip about a lesbian couple in Seattle who had been allowed to adopt a child. A junior college student from California confirmed their fears about homosexuality in the schools, offering himself as evidence. He claimed his teachers were "attempting to force a homosexual role on me".

REMEMBER SODOM

Befitting their fundamentalist breeding, Mays and Clemmons quoted profusely from the Bible to back up their belief in the evil of homosexuality. "Be not deceived," they read from I Corinthians 6:9: "Neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor effeminate...shall inherit the kingdom of God." They found numerous Biblical references showing God's scorn for "inordinate affection", "uncleanness", and "them that defile themselves with mankind". Citing the example of Sodom, Clemmons said God put a pronouncement of death on "homosexuals, harlots, and any of those other sexual vile sins".

"The way that city became wicked is the same way our cities are becoming wicked," said Mays. He told how some "so called clergy" now perform marriages for homosexual or lesbian couples. "We're turning into a literal Sodom and Gomorrah today, and we're invoking God's wrath." Asked for some evidence of God's wrath, he mentioned the energy shortage and the recession, which struck me as odd ways to punish homosexuality, unless one believes in a perverse and vengeful God.

Instead of a strategy session, the meeting lapsed into a rambling discussion of the same social and educational evils Mays had recounted to me earlier that day. Somehow all the evils seemed related, all perpetrated by an undefined "they". As Wheeler said, "It's funny how it's happening all over at the same time. You'd almost think it's planned that way".

All three men displayed contradictory responses to the sexual and moral decay threatening New Milford and the nation. While they all expressed a proper degree of outrage, there was much hearty male laughter over "dirty books" X-rated films, "queers" and "homos". Their outrage was tinged with titillation and relish, like that of outraged citizens who watch nude sunbathers through binoculars for hours before calling the police in indignation.

Some sense of the fragility of masculinity makes Mays and his associates fear that a 12-year-old boy's manhood can be endangered by schoolroom intimacies with a sewing machine or a kitchen stove. He says he doesn't want sexual information taught in the schools, but I got the impression he doesn't think it should be taught at all. For him and Brother Clemmons, sex seems to be a subject more suitably discussed in locker rooms.

Being good ol' country boys with roots in rural Arkansas must make it hard for Mays and Clemmons to deal with the complexities of a world where moral, sexual, and social barriers of all kinds are rapidly crumbling.

They fear not only the open discussion of sexual topics, but any new ideas not part of their world. As Mays told me, almost with pride, "If I don't know anything about something, or if I don't understand it, I just oppose it".

ANDROGYNY VS. THE TIGHT LITTLE LIVES OF FLUFFY WOMEN AND CHESTY MEN

by
Sandra Lipsitz Bem

In American Society, men are supposed to be masculine, women are supposed to be feminine, and neither sex is supposed to be much like the other. If men are independent, tough and assertive, women should be dependent, sweet and retiring. A womanly woman may be tender and nurturant, but no manly man may be so.

For years we have taken these polar opposites as evidence of psychological health. Even our psychological tests of masculinity and femininity reflect this bias: a person scores as either masculine or feminine, but the tests do not allow a person to say that he or she is both.

I have come to believe that we need a new standard of psychological health for the sexes, one that removes the burden of stereotype and allows people to feel free to express the best traits of men and women. As many feminists have argued, freeing people from rigid sex roles and allowing them to be androgynous (from "andro", male, and "gyne", female), should make them more flexible in meeting new situations, and less restricted in what they can do and how they can express themselves.

In fact, there is already considerable evidence that traditional sex typing is unhealthy. For example, high feminimity in females consistently correlates with high anxiety, low self-esteem, and low self-acceptance. And although high masculinity in males has been related to better psychological adjustment during adolescence, it is often accompanied during adulthood by high anxiety, high neuroticism, and low self-acceptance. Further, greater intellectual development has quite consistently correlated with crossex typing (masculinity in girls, femininity in boys). Boys who are strongly masculine and girls who are strongly feminine tend to have lower overall intelligence, lower spatial ability, and show lower creativity.

In addition, it seems to me that traditional sex typing necessarily restricts behavior. Because people learn, during their formative years to suppress any behavior that might be considered undesirable or inappropfor their sex, men are afraid to do "women's work," and women are afraid to enter "man's world". Men are reluctant to be gentle, and women to be assertive. In contrast, androgynous people are not limited by labels. They are able to do whatever they want, both in their behavior and their feelings.

A MEASURE OF ANDROGYNY

I decided to study this question, to see whether sex-typed people really were more restricted and androgynous people more adaptable. Because I needed a way to measure how masculine, feminine, or androgynous a person was, I developed the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), which consists of a

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list of 60 personality characteristics: 20 traditionally masculine (ambitious, self-reliant, independent, assertive); 20 traditionally feminine (affectionate, gentle, understanding, sensitive to the needs of others); and 20 neutral (truthful, friendly, likeable). I gave a list of 400 such traits to a group of undergraduates, who rated the desirability of each characteristic either "for a man" or "for a woman". I drew the final list for the BSRI from those characteristics that both males and females rated as being significantly more desirable for one sex than for the other.

The masculine, feminine and neutral characteristics appear in random order on the test, and a person indicates on a scale of one ("never or almost always true") to seven ("always or almost always true") how accurate each word is as a self-description. The difference between the total points assigned to masculine and feminine adjectives indicates the degree of a person's sex typing. If masculinity and feminity scores are approximately equal, the individual has an androgynous sex role.

My colleagues and I have given the BSRI to more than 1,500 undergraduates at Stanford University. Semester after semester, we find that about 50 percent of the students adhere to "appropriate" sex roles, about 15 percent are cross sex typed, and about 35 percent are androgynous.

With BSRI in hand, we were in a position to find out whether sex-typed people really were restricted and androgynous people really more adaptable. Our strategy was to measure a number of behaviors that were stereotypically either masculine or feminine. We selected these particular actions to represent the very best of what masculinity and femininity have come to stand for, and we felt that any healthy adult should be capable of them. We predicted that sex-typed people would do well only when the behavior was traditionally considered appropriate for his or her sex, whereas those who were androgynous would do well regardless of the sex-role stereotype attached to the particular action.

The masculine behaviors that we selected were independence and assertiveness. The study of independence brought students to the lab for what they though was an experiment on humor. In fact, they were there to test conformity versus independence of judgment. Karen Rook and Robyn Stickney placed each person in a booth equipped with microphones and earphones, and showed him or her a series of cartoons that had been rated earlier for humorous quality. As a new cartoon appeared on the screen, the students heard the experimenter call on each person in turn for his or her rating. Although they believed that they were hearing each other's voices, they were in fact listening to a preprogrammed tape. To provoke the students into conformity, the tape voices answered the experimenter falsely, agreeing that a particular cartoon was funny when it wasn't or vice versa.

THE LIMITATIONS OF FEMINITY

We predicted that feminine women would be less independent than anyone else, and were right. They were far more likely to conform to the incorrect taped judgments than masculine men or androgynous students of either sex. Only 33 percent of the feminine women were very independent (more independent than the average of all students), compared to 70 percent of the masculine and androgynous students.

Jeffrey Wildfogel carried out a similar study to measure assertiveness. He called students on the telephone with an unreasonable request: when would they be willing to spend over two hours, without pay, to fill out a questionnaire about their reactions to various insurance policies for students? At no time did he actually ask whether the people he called would be willing to participate. He simply assumed that they would, and asked them to indicate when they would be available.

In this situation, agreeing would cost a person time, effort and inconvenience, but refusing required the student to assert his or her preferences over those of the caller. The preliminary results confirmed our expectations that feminine women would find it harder to be assertive than anyone else. When Wildfogel asked the students later how difficult it was to turn the caller down, 67 percent of the feminine women said that they found it very difficult, compared to only 28 percent of the masculine men and androgynous students.

The feminine behaviors that we selected all measured the extent to which a person was willing to be responsible for or helpful toward another living creature. We expected that this time the masculine men would be at a disadvantage.

In the first study, Jenny Jacobs measured how responsive people were toward a six-week-old kitten. When students came to the lab, Jacobs explained that she wanted to see how different activities would affect their moods. Actually, we wanted only to determine their reaction to the kitten. For one of the activities, therefore, we put a kitten into the room and asked the student to respond to it in any way he or she wished. We simply recorded how often the student touched or petted the kitten. Later on in the experiment, we gave each person the opportunity to do anything in the lab room that he or she wanted: play with the kitten, read magazines, work puzzles, play with a three-dimensional tilting maze, or whatever. This time we measured how much the students played with the kitten when they didn't have to.

As expected, the masculine men were less playful than anyone else. Only nine percent of them showed a high level of playfulness with the kitten, compared to 52 percent of all the other students. But there was an unexpected result: the androgynous women played with the kitten more often than feminine women, who are presumably so fond of small cuddly things, 64 percent to 36 percent.

MACHO MALES AND CUDDLY BABIES

We conducted two further tests--this time with human beings instead of kittens. Carol Watson and Bart Astor measured how responsive people would be toward a six-month-old baby. The student thought the study was about babies' reactions to strangers, but actually we observed the students' reactions to the baby. We left each person alone with the infant for 10 minutes while the experimenter and one of the baby's parents watched from a one-way mirror. We recorded what each person did, such as how often he or she talked to the baby, smiled at it, or picked it up. Once again, the masculine men were the least likely to play much with the baby. Only 21 percent of them were highly responsive, compared to half of all the other students. And this time the feminine women did respond warmly, but no more than the androgynous women.

The last experiment, conducted by Wendy Martyna and Dorothy Ginsberg, explored people's reactions to a person with emotional problems. The students came to the lab in pairs for what they thought was a study of acquaintance, and they drew lots so that one would be a "talker" and the other a "listener." In fact, the talker was our confederate who delivered a memorized script of personal problems. The listener was allowed to ask questions or to make comments, but never to shift the focus of the conversation away from the talker. We recorded the listener's reactions, such as how often he or she nodded and made sympathetic comments, and later we asked each listener how concerned he or she felt about the talker's problems.

Again, the masculine men were the least responsive, only 14 percent of them were above average in reacting sympathetically or in showing concern, compared to 60 percent of the other students. And the feminine women reacted most strongly to the talker, showing more concern than even the androgynous women.

The pattern of results for these five experiments suggests that rigid sex roles can seriously restrict behavior. This is especially the case for men. The masculine men did masculine things very well, but they did not do feminine things. They were independent and assertive when they needed to be, but they weren't responsive to the kitten, or the baby, or to a person in need. In other words, they lacked the ability to express warmth, playfulness and concern, important human--if traditionally feminine-traits.

Similarly, the feminine women were restricted in their ability to express masculine characteristics. They did feminine things--played with the baby, responded with concern and support for the troubled talker--but they weren't independent in judgment or assertive of their own preferences. And for some reason, they didn't respond to the kitten; perhaps feminine women also are afraid of animals.

In contrast, the androgynous men and women did just about everything. They could be independent and assertive when they needed to be, and warm and responsive in appropriate situations. It didn't matter, in other words, whether a behavior was stereotypically masculine or feminine; they did equally well on both.

THE RIGID BARS OF SEX ROLES

In order to find out whether sex-typed people actually avoid opposite-sex behavior, Ellen Lenney and I designed a study in which people could choose an action to perform for pay. We said that we were going to photograph them for a later study, and that we didn't care at all how well they did each activity. In fact, we gave them only one minute for each performance, long enough for a convincing photo, but not long enough for them to complete the task.

Then we gave the students 30 pairs of activities, and asked them to select one from each pair to act out for pay. Some of these pairs pitted masculine activities against feminine ones (oiling a hinge versus preparing a baby bottle); some pitted feminine against neutral (winding yarn into a ball versus sorting newspapers by geographical area); and some pitted masculine against neutral (nailing boards together versus peeling an orange).

We predicted that masculine men and feminine women would consistently avoid the activity that was inappropriate for their sex, even though it always paid more. We were right. Such individuals were actually ready to lose money to avoid acting in trivial ways that are characteristic of the opposite sex. That was particularly true when the person running the experiment was a member of the opposite sex. In that case, fully 71 percent of the sex-typed students chose highly stereotyped activities compared to only 42 percent of the androgynous students.

We went one step further, because we wondered how sex-typed people would feel about themselves if they had to carry out an opposite-sex activity. We asked all the students to perform three masculine, three feminine, and three neutral activities while we photographed them and then they indicated on a series of scales how each activity made them feel about themselves. Masculine men and feminine women felt much worse than androgynous people about doing a cross-sex task. Traditional men felt less masculine if they had to, say, prepare a baby bottle, and traditional women felt less feminine if they had to nail boards together. When the experimenter was a member of the opposite sex, sex-typed students were expecially upset about acting out of role. They felt less attractive and likable, more nervous land peculiar, less masculine or feminine, and didn't particularly enjoy the experience.

ANDROGYNY IS DESTINY

This research persuades me that traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity do restrict a person's behavior in important ways. In a modern complex society like ours, an adult has to be assertive, independent and self-reliant, but traditional femininty makes many women unable to behave in these ways. On the other hand, an adult must also be able to relate to other people, to be sensitive to their needs and concerned about their welfare, as well as to be able to depend on them for emotional support. But traditional masculinity keeps men from responding in such supposedly feminine ways.

Androgyny, in contrast, allows an individual to be both independent and tender, assertive and yielding, masculine and feminine. Thus androgyny greatly expands the range of behavior open to everyone, permitting people to cope more effectively with diverse situations. As such, I hope that androgyny will some day come to define a new and more human standard of psychological health.

WOMAN'S LIBERATION AND HUMAN LIBERATION

by
Susan Colberg Macdonald
and
James B. Macdonald

> "We tend to forget the simple fact that the
> female sex is half the species, that women are
> not merely a ladies auxiliary to the human race."
> Marjorie U'Ren[1]

We wish to discuss Women's Liberation as a cultural movement rather than a social movement. By this we mean that we are not fundamentally concerned at this point with directly addressing ourselves to the inequality between the sexes in socio-economic and political terms. These inequalities, needless to say, are very important and have been well documented by others.

A cultural movement, as we understand it, is a movement toward changing the consciousness of human beings about the human condition, which through thought and action begins an evolution of progressive changes in the social and political conditions of existence.

The fact of the matter is that the history of social revolution in Western Civilization up to the present has been fundamentally the substitution of one male power group for another. It has not basically affected the critical status of half the human race--that is, women. There is, in other words, little evidence that males have been willing to give up power to women in any social revolutionary movement, to say nothing of in the existing society.

Women were still serving coffee and running the mimeograph machines for the radical leftist groups of the 60's; they are today making bread in most communes. In looking over the pattern of social movements, in even the most recent times we see a pattern of restrictive and adjunctive role definition for women.

Change, we suspect, does not occur quite as it appears at close range, via social planning and rational activities. Women's liberation is part of a more basic cultural movement which has many symptoms and manifestations. The long history of the woman's movement suggests that cultural conditions must reach a certain level of consciousness before the plans, criticism, and attitudes which accompany change can be crystallized and acted upon. The ebb and flow of the woman's movement over the past few decades reflects this broader cultural transformation. Thus, woman's liberation reflects similar cultural conditions to those manifested in the civil rights movement, third world rumblings, and the youth movements. Were this not so, then one would conclude that the woman's movement signifies only a feminist Revolution and the meaning of it for males would be a "war of the sexes." But war or no war, changing sex roles are perhaps as difficult and complex a problem as we can imagine for many men and women.

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[1] Marjorie B. U'Ren, "The Image of Woman in Textbooks," Woman in Sexist Society. Edited by Vivian Gornick and Barbara Moran. New American Library, 1970, p. 326.

*Talk prepared for the John Dewey Society Meeting, New Orleans, March, 1975; printed with permission of the authors.

Our position is predicated on the idea that social behavior which has been stereotyped in sex roles, is fundamentally a social convenience: (1) That all social role behaviors are a potential of both men and women; (2) That historical circumstances have created the special role stereotypes that we live with; (3) That these role stereotypes are arbitrary, that is, they are social conveniences which serve a useful function; (4) That they have useful functions to the extent that they maintain the status quo; (5) That the status quo serves limited and limiting interests of certain power groups; (6) But that this 'social convenience' is no longer (if it once was) responsive to the long range interests of the vast majority of human beings; and, (7) That the status quo is deeply destructive, not only to the individual potential of those within our culture, but to the culture itself.

Cultural change, we believe, accompanies or precedes social and political change; just as books and ideas, for example, are not the causes of social changes, but the expression of subtle cultural changes that are going on or have preceded them.

Cultural change, as change in human consciousness, deals only indirectly with socio-economic and political structures; but relates directly to the values, attitudes, feelings and self images of human beings. In other words - the meanings people attach to living. We propose that the single most important aspect of our culture in its impact upon peoples' consciousness of themselves and others, relates to the person's sex.

Sexism totally permeates our present culture: It can be identified within all social classes, within all major religions, among all age groups, and within almost all ethnic and social minorities. Further, institutionalized sexism permeates the structures of all major institutions: the family, education, politics, occupation, church, and state.

The family relationship, for example, is a critical situation in the learning of sex roles and images of self. It is both the beginning and the end of the social attitude spectrum, where sex roles are learned and the social dynamism by which human beings are harnessed to the broader system through role stereotyping. The family is both the perpetrator and the social victim in this circumstance. Moreover, the fact remains that to the very young the parents are the culture, whereas in schools and other institutions in later life the young are taught the culture.

This critical family relationship has been described by Philip Slater[2] as a social system with two castes - male and female, - and two classes - adult and child. Thus, the basis for a caste and class system is developed very early in the meanings, perceptions and feelings of the young through their everyday life with parents.

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[2] Phillip Slater, Earthwalk Anchor Press, Doubleday, N.Y., 1974.

The caste system, however, is more deeply detrimental, inasmuch as youngsters eventually come to perceive the ability to change their class status by growing up, whereas the caste system is reinforced and magnified as a permanent identity throughout life.

The fact is that a male culture and a female culture as learned in the home poses a critical problem for changing sex roles, since our earliest encounter provides deep attitudinal "sets" which seem to be natural for us at the time we first encounter them. This cultural naivety is the bedrock of much negative emotional reaction on the part of both sexes to changing sex roles.

The social question is "in whose interest" is this learned family attitudinal pattern? There are, of course, many answers to this, but perhaps John Galbraith has provided one of the more interesting.

According to Galbraith[3] the modern woman's role in American Society (particularly "middle-class") is intricately related to what he calls the "planning system" of economic arrangements. By this he means that the concept of the household and women's role in it are intricately related to the consumption needs of the economic system.

Thus, we have reached a point where possession and consumption of goods have become burdensome unless these and associated tasks are delegated to a role. In effect, without a servant class the women's role in households has been converted to a servant role and reinforced attitudinally as "convenient social virtue." The virtuous woman has become the good housekeeper or homemaker.

By this process women have been converted to a crypto servant class. The economists have generally avoided invading this realm by treating the household as the individual consumer. This in itself is an interesting example of how sexist attitudes invade intellectual life. The reality is that within the household our economic society requires approximately half of our adults to accept a subordinate status. "The household," says Galbraith, "in the established economics, is essentially a disguise for the exercise of male authority." The woman's service to the economy as the administrator of household consumption (including services) thus, as Galbraith says "hitchhike on her sense of duty and her capacity for affection."

There is also the problem of language. What may appear to be a superficial use of pronouns and nouns has become a critical cultural point of change. Thus, it is becoming increasingly necessary to re-think the use of our language for its sex stereotypical implications. This is no small task and it has very deep roots in our cultural attitudes. What seems clear is that we must learn to talk about the sexes in a different way. Or perhaps, better, we must learn to be alert for the innuendos of sex prejudice in the language patterns we use. A new vocabulary and reference structure is needed for this task. A critical point to note is, of course, that as we change the way we talk about women we also change the way we talk about men. Men, in other words, will not escape change in language usage without a change in their own perceptions of the male role.

Thus, the very language we use and the manner in which we use it is culturally symbolic of the manner by which we perpetuate sexism. The word "man" or "men," for example is used as a generic word for human beings. The word woman is reserved for mature females. More often than not, however, women are referred to as "ladies" or "girls," both words whose connotations suggest either a specifically delicate state or a diminutive. Further, there is no extensively used corrollary word usage for males which corresponds to such words as: broads, dames, chicks, shirts, etc. The connotations in these words tend to distance the female form full partnership in humanity. The English language, and especially the American slang usage of it is thoroughly sexist.

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[3] John Kenneth Galbraith, Economics and the Public Purpose, Asibnet Book; New American Library, N.Y. 1975.

What happens to the sexes in a society like ours? The scenario for child development goes something like this. It begins before birth. Boys are the preferred sex, both in terms of actual preference (i.e. an only child), and sequential preference (i.e. first children). There is still a prevalent feeling tone in American society that a male child is evidence of a father's virility and a mother's worth. Parents prefer the older child to be a male so that any girl who may come later will have an older brother who is both stronger and wiser.

After birth a definite socialization pattern begins. Patrick Lee and Nancy Gropper[4] for example have identified nine areas of cultural sex role differences noted by researchers in the socialization process. These are paraphrased here:

1. Acculturation. Males and females are labeled differently at birth, socialized to different life styles through clearly differentiated expectations and child rearing procedures, and eventually assume major responsibility for the completion and maintenance of their respective sex-role identities.

2. Communication Patterns. While both males and females use the same language, the typically have different expressive styles. In non-verbal communication their expressive styles are even more distinctive.

3. Physical Gestures. Characteristics of posture, stance, gait, limb movement, and eye movement differentiate between the sexes, as do certain dimensions of physical gesture, such as gracefulness vs. vigor and tentativeness vs. decisiveness. Moreover certain physical habits considered acceptable for one sex may be viewed as extremely unacceptable for the other, for example, spitting in public.

4. Group Affiliations. There is a long tradition of formal sex-segregated groupings, for example girl and boy scouts, nuns and priests, sororities and fraternities. There are also informal groupings customs which are carefully protected, especially by males. They range from the relatively durable, like fishing and hunting clubs, to the relatively ephemeral, like the classic night out with the boys.

5. Dress Customs. There are self-evident differences between most male and female clothing. They are almost always purchased at different places, and evaluated in terms of different aesthetic and functional criteria.

6. Cultural Artifacts. Boys and girls learn to prefer different toys; males and females have distinctive types of personal ornamentation and anointments, and they accumulate different kinds of personal effects.

7. Roles. Females usually assume more expressive occupational roles. while men usually take on more instrumental occupational roles. In the family, females are generally expected to assume more nurturant, con-

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[4] Patrick Lee and Nancy Gropper, "Sex Role Culture and Educational Practice," Harvard Educational Review, August 1974, pp 370-71.

servative, and home-based roles, while males are assigned the roles of breadwinner, disciplinarian, and protector of the household. The precise functional interpretation of these roles, however, varies from family to family.

8. Games and Avocations. Girls' games usually involve low risk, taking turns, indirect competition, accommodation, and inclusiveness, whereas boys' games emphasize high risk, physical contact, intrusiveness, and competition leading to clear designation of winners and losers. The avocations of adult females are usually nurturant and conservative, while male avocations are physically or intellectually competitive.

9. Competencies. From earliest childhood males are expected to develop mechanical and instrumental competencies, while females develop interpersonal sensibilities and skills.

Not only are these patterns evident, but within each of these areas our society sets priorities of preference which favor the male role.

When we look at these general sex socialization patterns it is possible as David Bakan[5] has said, to talk about the male pattern as being more agentic, or agency oriented; and the female pattern as being more communal oriented.

Bakan uses the terms agency and communion to characterize two fundamental modalities in the existence of living forms, agency for existence as an individual and communion for participation of the individual in some larger relationship.

Agency in this sense manifests itself in self-protection, self assertion, self-expansion, mastery and competition by separateness, isolation, alienation, aloneness; and the repression of thought, feeling and impulse. Communion is manifested by a sense of being at one with other organisms; by contact, openness, and union; by non-contractual cooperation; and the lack and removal of repression. The very split between agency and communion in human existence arises from the agency feature itself with its qualities of separation and objectification.

When we look at the socialization patterns of males and females it is clear that by and large the agency orientation is allotted to the male role and the communal orientation to the female role. Although the necessity of both agency and communal qualities is important for human survival; the arbitrary assignment of specific orientation to the sexes is detrimental to human well being and fulfillment.

The most disastrous aspect of this stereotyping, and what is at the very root of sexism, per se; is that agency orientation is preferred, considered superior, rewarded, and given the dominant place in our society. Communal orientations are considered adjunctive and secondary; and thus, girls are taught a constellation of thoughts, feelings and behaviors that are considered inferior.

American society, emerging from Protestant individualism, the scientific revolution and laissez faire capitalism; to what we see today; is the most obvious and extreme example of a society committed to agency orientation in modern history.

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[5] David Bakan, "The Duality of Human Existence," Beacon Press, 1966.

This is easily observed in terms of our extremes of competition, mastery and achievement orientation, exploitation of others and the environment, power pre-occupation, and economic and military domination of other, less agentic cultures.

Undoubtedly the greatest threats to human survival today are the possibilities of nuclear war and environmental destruction. We have predominantly looked at our relations with other nations in terms of power and self interest, and are continually on the brink of a threat of nuclear war. We have also abstracted ourselves from our natural world and exploited that world through our technology to the point where we are rapidly creating an uninhabitable environment. Both these critical situations are directly connected to those dominant agentic qualities of human behavior. The final outcome of the agentic, the final mastery, would appear to be total destruction of our world.

The importance of those very qualities of communion, allotted to woman, are denied as viable attitudes toward our problems. The qualities of community; of being at one with others and the world, of unity and cooperation, are the very qualities needed for the survival of humanity.

Sexism, thus, is the most critical issue of our times. It is so because the development of individual human potential, and perhaps the very survival of all humans, demands drastic changes in our sex stereotypes and the reunification of both agentic and communal qualities as parts of total human potential. It also promises to be the most viable way by which the priorities in human existence may come to be realigned. Woman's liberation is far more important to humanity than simply allowing women equal access to agency in social roles. Of course, equal access to all social and political roles is a human right not to be denied women; but what we are focusing upon here is the disastrous splitting of the human potential which literally can mean the psychological or physical death of humanity.

The basic point underlying what we are talking about is that the concern for male or female roles in society, or the effects of changing roles on either of the sexes must be viewed from a humanistic perspective. By this we mean that what we are, and others should be concerned about, is the meaning of changing sex roles on the definition of human "being" or existence.

Human existence in contrast to brute survival involves ethical and moral judgments about what is the good life. Human life is experienced in the way we live our every day lives, our relationships to ourselves and others, our sense of personal belonging in society and the cosmos. We believe this demands a human condition characterized by *justice*, *equality*, and *love*.

Justice, equality and love are not separate ideas, but three unique avenues for approaching the definition of a good life. The just society is both a loving society and one which respects the equality of human beings. The loving society is perhaps captured best by Erich Fromm's[6] definition of love; as "care, responsibility. respect, and knowledge." Whereas, the equalitarian society is predicated on the inherent worth and dignity of each human being and the moral imperative to love, to treat others as persons, not things.

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[6] Erich Fromm, *The Art of Loving*, Harper and Brothers, N.Y., 1956.

The denial of equality to women is unjust and unloving. To deny humanness to half the human race is the most blatant and widespread example of man's inhumanity to humans. It is also by far the most destructive, not only in terms of the vast numbers of those persons who are oppressed through inequality, but in the tremendous psychic toll on all human beings, males as well as females.

The psychological exploitation inherent in sexism is well illustrated, for example by Margaret Adams'[7] concept of the "Compassion Trap." Moreover, it has dual meaning for humanity; not only confining women to certain helping roles but defining men out of these roles. For when women become by role and myth the only truly protecting, nurturant, tener and compassionate ones; men are denied the opportunity of growth through loving. And when women within this role myth are also the inferior ones the whole society is denied growth and love.

We are not suggesting that women are truly loving and men not. Rather, we are suggesting that both sexes are denied avenues for developing the full potential of love. Within the narrow confines of woman's role, treated as inferior and allotted nurturant functions; a tremendous resentment arises which decreases the possibility of love, whereas for male roles the superiority of non-loving capacities makes fully loving almost impossible as part of their repertoire. This is obviously destructive of human beings if as Erich Fromm[8] says, "The affirmation of one's own life, happiness, growth and freedom is rooted in one's capacity to love."

The point has been made by many persons that total human potential is in a very limited state of development in our society today. Jean Houston,[9] Director of the Foundation for Mind Research, for example, has commented at length about the effect of the dominant agentic worker orientation on the self images we develop. This narrowing of vision disassociates ourselves from our bodies, from others and from nature. We live to manipulate, and look outside ourselves, at the object world, for the fulfillment of our needs. In so doing we cut ourselves off from our capacities for growth through relations with others and the world; and from the enriching realm of inner experiences.

The limited state of the development of human potential is clearly related to men's oppression and denial of equality to women. When men deny true equality through tradition, self interest, or fear; to that female half with whom the most intimate and emotional attachments are formed --the mother-nuturer; lover-friend; daughter-future: they repress that part of themselves. To deny equality to those closest to the core of humaness, the core of life, love, sexuality and childhood, is to deny that within ourselves which embodies this. It is to fear life and human existence.

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[7] Margaret Adams, "The Compassion Trap," Woman in Sexist Society. Ed. by Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, New American Library, 1972.

[8] Erich Fromm, op. cit.

[9] Jean Houston, Saturday Review, Feb., 1975

Women are in the experiences of all human beings, thus almost all men have available to their consciousness a positive life giving experience with women that can be used as a basis for reconstructing attitudes, values, and feelings toward a more liberating life for themselves and women.

The cultural push for change toward liberating human possibilities is coming from women who have seen themselves as obviously constrained in their potential. But, it seems to us that this promises to open up possibilities for human growth, and to develop a fuller use of the capacities within each of us.

Perhaps, as opponents of sexual equality have said, the cultural movement toward equality of the sexes will open up "Pandora's Box." To this we say Amen, so be it; for the contents of Pandora's Box may be very different from what myth and tradition have told us. Within may reside with Hope, the virtues of Reconciliation, Enrichment, Growth, Caring, and Love, -- and, the greatest of all adventures into human liberation -- for as Carl Rogers[10] remarked; "The degree to which I can create relationships which facilitate the growth of others as separate persons is a measure of the growth I have achieved in Myself."

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[10] Carl Rogers, in a talk at ASCD National Convention, March, 1972.

Take this paper to your Discussion Group

ALTERNATIVE D - REACTION SHEET

Follow the format given below and React to Articles:
(use additional paper as needed)

Title/Subject
Comments:

Title/Subject
Comments:

Title/Subject
Comments:

Title/Subject
Comments:

Your name 3010 3040
(Please circle one)

Turn in after seminar.

SAMPLE

Take this paper to your Discussion Group

ALTERNATIVE D - REACTION SHEET

Follow the format given below and React to Articles:
(use additional paper as needed)

Title/Subject
Comments: ______________________________

Title/Subject
Comments: ______________________________

Title/Subject
Comments: ______________________________

Title/Subject
Comments: ______________________________

Your name ______________________ 3010 3040
(Please circle one)

Turn in after seminar.

ALTERNATIVE E - WHOSE VALUES?

Rationale

Society is currently suggesting that educators must address themselves to the whole area of values education -- and soon. This alternative attempts to provide students with knowledge of the valuing process, as well as several techniques for dealing with values through helping others clarify their values. It aims to help develop one's own effective process of valuing.

Objectives

The material which follows is related to three specific objectives which will help prospective teachers develop their skills in value clarification:

1. Be able to recognize student behaviors which call for value clarification;
2. Be able to recognize situations which encourage expression of values;
3. Be able to use several techniques to structure situations that deal specifically with values

Materials

Clarifying Values

Simon, S. Values Clarification, as selected (Center - 266 Duncan)

Worksheet

Environment

The Center
A Classroom (number to be announced on the bulletin board)

Activities and Assessment

Read through the material provided on Clarifying Values;

Select one Strategy from Values Clarification to teach your Workshop Group;

Attend a Workshop;

Complete the Worksheet on page 117.

CLARIFYING VALUES

One often neglected role of the teacher is helping students clarify their values and helping each one develop an effective process of valuing. The valuing process is complex, but at heart of it are three behaviors:

being aware of one's values
making intelligent choices
acting upon those choices

Seven criteria must be satisfied, according to Raths, Harmin and Simon in Values and Teaching, before one can say one holds a particular value. To define a value one must:

1. Choose it freely;
2. Choose it from among alternatives;
3. Choose it after thoughtful consideration of the consequences of each alternative
4. Prize and cherish it;
5. Publicly affirm;
6. Act upon the Choice;
7. Repeat it.

The ideas in this alternative are adapted from Values and Teaching by Raths, Harmin and Simon, whose work represents one sound approach to a very complex educational task. Other strategies are described in books listed in the Selected Bibliography. Multiple copies of Values Clarification may be found in the Center. These techniques are practical and usually become permanent parts of the teaching approaches of teachers who have used them.

OBJECTIVE 1 - Recognizing behaviors which call for value clarification

People continually express ideas and feelings which are indications of the assumptions underlying their behavior. People's systems of assumptions are always in a state of development, and one of the prime tasks of the teacher is to aid students in that development. To do so, the teacher needs to be able to identify value indicators when students express them. What sorts of statements are value indicators? Raths indentifies the following categories of value indicators:

intentions, aspirations
attitudes
feelings
interests
beliefs and convictions
activities
worries, problems, obstacles

The following are examples of value indicators. Can you match them to the categories above?

A. "Some day I'd like to join VISTA."
B. "We're going to divide up the committee jobs and each do our own thing rather than try to do it together."
C. "Except for knowing how to spell, I think English is a useless subject for me."
D. "People don't really care about over population."
E. "Bill really makes me mad . . . all the time teasing us."
F. "I read everything I can lay my hands on about nursing."
G. "I really believe all persons are created equal."
H. "Last week I spent over sixty hours working on my project for the science fair."
I. "How can we get the project done in time? The other kids don't really help at all."

All of these behaviors, of course, are verbal behaviors. It is not difficult to picture in the mind's eye some non-verbal behaviors which are value indicators of most of the categories named above.

Check yourself: from the following list pick out the student statements which can be taken as value indicators.

A. "All the other children are making so much noise I can't think."
B. "I studied hard for this test, and I don't see what's wrong with my answers."
C. "I got this catalog on ham radio components."
D. "I don't see why we have to wait until we're sixteen to get a driver's license."
E. "Three of my friends want to nominate me for an office in the student government."

If you chose all five you chose correctly.

Many statements of fact, while not being obvious value indicators, can be taken as if they were value indicators. For example, this statement is obviously a value indicator: "Cities are too crowded. People should move out to the country and towns." This statement is not obviously a value indicator: "I read that 70% of our population lives on [illegible]% of the land." However, the teacher can respond in a manner which elects a value indicator: "How do you feel about that fact?"

When students express value indicators, such as those listed above, a value clarifying response is called for. Guidelines for such responses are given in Objective 2.

OBJECTIVE 2 - Recognizing situations which encourage expression of values.

What situations encourage students to express value indicators, that is, attitudes, intentions, convictions, etc.? Raths identifies six general conditions:

1. Teacher provides an open range of choices. The student feels no necessity to conform to the teacher's or others' wishes. The teacher does not set a narrow range of choices: "Wouldn't you like to conduct the experiment, Mary?" Hence, the choices are personal, not simply a selection from among other people's choices.
2. Teacher withholds approval and disapproval of student's choices.
3. Teacher refrains from persuading or preaching. The teacher doesn't tell the student how he/she should or should not feel, or what he/she should or should not be interested in.
4. Teacher avoids stating rules to regulate behavior.
5. Teacher asks student to evaluate his/her own work.
6. Teacher provides student time to think things over.

These conditions set the tone, the climate for expression of values. They are background conditions as contrasted to specific, leading, contrived, precipitating situations arranged by the teacher.

OBJECTIVE 3 - Structuring situations to deal specifically with values.

Two strategies for dealing with values are described here. There are many that have been used successfully, however. The strategies included here are generally applicable to a wide range of classroom situations and to different teaching styles.

A. THE CLARIFYING RESPONSE

A short response or sequence of responses immediately following a students expression of a value indicator is called a clarifying response.

The following such expressions usually serve the purpose well:

1. "Is that something very important to you?"

2. "How did you feel when that happened?"

3. "What are some alternatives?"

4. "Was that your own choice; was it a free choice?"

5. "Can you give some examples of that?"

6. "I'm not sure what you mean by ------! How do you define it?"

7. "What would the consequences be?"

8. "Are you saying that . . . (repeat or paraphrase student's statement)?"

9. "Is that the same as . . .?"

The clarifying response, of course, is used with an individual student rather than with a group. If the strategy is successful, the student stops to consider what he has chosen, what he prizes, and/or what he is doing. It stimulates him to clarify his thinking and behavior and thus to clarify his values. The nine sample phrases above generally open up a short dialogue. Here are some examples of such dialogues.

Teacher: You say, Glenn, that you are a liberal in political matters?

Glenn: Yes, I am.

Teacher: Where did your ideas come from?

Glenn: Well, my parents I guess, mostly.

Teacher: Are you familiar with other positions?

Glenn: Well sort of.

Teacher: I see, Glenn, Now, class, getting back to the homework for today . . . (returning to the general lesson).

Here is another actual situation. In this incident the clarifying response prods the student to clarify his thinking and to examine his behavior to see if it is consistent with his ideas. It is between lessons and a student has just told a teacher that science is his favorite subject.

Selected parts of "A. The Clarifying Response" are reprinted with permissio from Raths, Values and Teaching.

Teacher: What exactly do you like about science?

Student: Specifically? Let me see. Gosh, I'm not sure. I guess I just like it in general.

Teacher: Do you do anything outside of school to have fun with science?

Student: No, not really.

Teacher: Thank you, Jim. I must get back to work now.

Notice the brevity of the exchanges. Sometimes we call these exchanges "one-legged conferences" because they often take place while a teacher is on one leg, pausing briefly on his way elsewhere. An extended series of probes might give the student the feeling that he was being cross-examined and might make him defensive. Besides it would give him too much to think about. The idea is, without moralizing, to raise a few questions, leave them hanging in the air, and then move on. The student to whom the questions are addressed, and other students who might overhear, may well ponder the questions later, in a lull in the day or in the quiet moments before falling asleep. Gentle prods, but the effect is to stimulate a student who is ready for it to choose, prize, and act in ways outlined by the value theory.

Here is another example, this time based on an expression of an aspiration.

Clara: Some day I'd like to join the Peace Corps.

Teacher: What are some good things about that, Clara?

Clara: Oh, the chance to be of service excites me and going to faraway places does, too.

Teacher: Of these two, which would you put in first place?

Clara: I guess the faraway places part.

Teacher: Are you glad that that one is first?

Clara: No, I guess people would respect me more if the service part was first.

Teacher: Well, it's been interesting talking with you Clara, but I must get back to my papers. Perhaps we can talk about it another time.

If the response makes the student defensive, or gets him to say what the adult wants him to say, or gives him the feeling that the adult is nagging at him, it is being used improperly or with poor timing. An accepting, noncommittal attitude on the part of the person making responses is crucial.

Sometimes the clarifying response guides a student to the root assumptions and data which underlie his beliefs. Here is a dialogue which grew out of a classroom discussion in a high school social studies class.

John: If you let in too many immigrants it just makes it tough for everyone else.

Teacher: Tough in what way, John?

John: Well, they work so much cheaper that a decent American can't get a job.

Teacher: Can you give me an example of that happening, John?

John: Well, I went to this supermarket which had an advertisement, but this kid with an accent got there first.

Teacher: And he was willing to work cheaper?

John: Well, I don't know that for sure.

Teacher: What did you feel when you found out that you didn't get the job?

John: Boy I was mad.

Teacher: Would you have been mad say if Pete over there had gotten the job?

John: I guess I would have been just mad at anybody, because I really need the job.

Teacher: Have you tried any of the other markets? Maybe we could make a list of them together and you could check them out one at a time.

B. THE VALUE SHEET

For group activity, one effective strategy to try is the Value Sheet. In its simplest form, the mimeographed value sheet consists of a thought-provoking statement and a series of questions. Each student must think through the problem and process on his/her own. Answers are written independently with time provided later for a sharing with other class members.

In working through value sheets, the students are faced with an issue and its alternatives. Each person must make an intelligent choice freely and thoughtfully and then act upon that choice.

Value sheets are not difficult to construct. Any issue which is important to one's life may be used, such as: capitalism vs. socialism; honesty vs. expediency; selfishness vs. altruism; individual rights vs. societal rights.

On the following pages are two examples of value sheets, "The Meditation Room at the U.N." and "Home of the Brave?", and an outline of the strategy as suggested in Values and Teaching.

Value Sheet 1

The Meditation Room at the U.N.

Directions: Please answer as many of the questions below as you wish, but answer them thoughtfully and honestly. I will collect the papers at the end of the study period and return them to you with occasional comments later in the week. This is an optional assignment, and has no effect on grades, of course.

There is a chapel or meditation room at the U.N. General Assembly building in New York that has had all symbols of particular religions removed. There is nothing there but some rows of chairs, a potted plant, and a shaft of light. Marya Mannes writes of the room:

> It seemed to me standing there that this nothingness was so oppressive and disturbing that it became a sort of padded cell. It seemed to me that the core of our greatest contemporary trouble lay here, that all this whiteness and shapelessness and weakness was the leukemia of non-commitment, sapping our strength. We had found, finally, that only nothing could please all, and we were trying to make the greatest of all generalities out of that most singular truth, the spirit of man. The terrifying thing about this room was that it made no statement whatever. In its capacity and constriction, it could not even act as a reflector of thought.

1. Write your reaction to this quotation in just a few words.
2. Does it product a strong emotion in you? What emotion does it produce?
3. Do you think Miss Mannes's quotation is "anti-religious"? If not, why? If yes, in which ways?
4. In your mind, does Miss Mannes, in the quotation above, exaggerate the danger which she sees? Explain.
5. Can you list some more examples in our society which tend to support Miss Mannes's point?
6. Can you list any which tend to refute her point of view?
7. If this quotation suggests a problem which worries you, are there some things you might personally do about it? Within yourself? With some close friends? With the larger society?
8. Is there any wisdom from the past which you can cite to ease Miss Mannes's concern? Is there any wisdom from the past which might alarm her even more?
9. What do you get aroused about? Are you doing anything about it?

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Value Sheet 2

Home of the Brave?

I used to be an idealist. When there was a picket line, I would picket. When there was a sitdown, I would sit. When there was a demonstration, I would demonstrate. I sat for two days in front of a store that wouldn't hire "minority type" people -- I felt that they should have a fair chance in the land of opportunity, that all men are created equal. They told me to go to Russia. I was born in Brooklyn!

Then there was the time I marched around the U.N. and handed out leaflets saying that we shouldn't use bombs to kill each other, and that man should study war no more. They called me an atheist!

Once I was arrested for going into a school with a sign saying that all children are entitled to an equal opportunity to education, like the Supreme Court says the Constitution means. They called me a Communist!

Soon I got tired of being called all these names, so I gave up. I don't care if half of them starve. I don't care if they don't all get educated. I don't care if they kill each other with bombs. I don't care if their babies die from radiation. Now I'm a good American!*

---

*Gary Ackerman, Castle, Oct 8, 1963.

To think on and to write on:

1. What is this writer for and what is he against?
2. Have you had any experiences like his?
3. Who are some people who should be concerned about the problems he mentions?
4. Are there any things which you are working to change, to set right, to improve? Discuss briefly.

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THE VALUE SHEET: AN OUTLINE OF THE STRATEGY

Let us see if we can now succinctly outline the strategy that we call "value sheets."

As the clarifying response aims at a particular expression of a particular child, the value sheet aims at students in general and thus deals with ideas that are important for most students. Such ideas often emerge from topics related to:

1. Money, how it is apportioned and treated.
2. Friendship, how one relates to those around him.
3. Love and sex, how one deals with intimate relationships.
4. Religion and morals, what one holds as fundamental beliefs.
5. Leisure, how it is used.
6. Politics and social organization, especially as it affects the individual.
7. Work, vocational choices, attitudes toward work.
8. Family, and how one behaves within it.
9. Maturity, what one strives for.
10. Character traits, especially as they affect one's behavior.

Value sheets take different forms. Often they are based on a single provocative statement. Sometimes two or more divergent positions open a value sheet. Sometimes the questions and statements are woven together so that the value sheet has a dramatic development, with the student being increasingly involved in a complex issue. Sometimes value sheets consist of nothing more than a series of probing questions that are keyed to a common reading done from a text, a current events reading, or a piece of literature, or keyed to a common experience like an assembly program, a class problem, or a major public event. Cartoons, films, recordings, television shows, and other stimuli can also be used to begin a value sheet.

The questions on a value sheet are in the style of the valuing theory. That is, the questions do not try subtly to convince a student to believe what the adult believes, but rather the questions help the student take the issue at hand through the value criteria. The crucial elements, of course, are choosing (freely, thoughtfully, from alternatives), prizing and willingness to affirm, and acting (living one's choices in some pattern, not just talking about them). The thirty clarifying responses of the preceding chapter are illustrative of this style.

The value sheets are used in a variety of ways, the least effective of which is as discussion lessons. One does not get values in the busyness of a classroom discussion, especially a heated discussion. One needs quiet, hard thought and careful decisions if one is to have clear, persistent, and viable values. These do not easily come in the midst of a room full of talking.

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A discussion is inappropriate for value lessons for the following reasons:

1. A value discussion tends to move toward argumentation, with participants becoming defensive of positions they may not exactly hold after the heat of the talk is finished. Values require a non-defensive, open, and thoughtful climate.
2. Participants in a discussion often perform in ways that are partly motivated by factors irrelevant to the issue being discussed, such as desires to please other students and/or the teacher, and thus the thoughtful, deliberative aspects of valuing often become diluted with emotional considerations.
3. Valuing is an individual process; one cannot get values from a group consensus; one must himself choose, prize and act; and this is difficult to do in a room in which a lot of talking is going on.
4. Although valuing is an active process, requiring much individual intellectual energy, most persons are passive most of the time in a discussion. In fact, many persons are passive almost all of the time in discussions. In most discussions, the bulk of the talking is done by a certain predictable few.
5. Finally, a discussion tends to generate pressure of individuals to accept the group consensus or the strong leader's arguments or the teacher's suggestions, and values cannot come from pressures to accept something. The free choice must, in this value theory, be truly free if it is to lead to a meaningful personal value.

For those reasons, we have found that the most effective ways to use value sheets begin with individuals responding to the questions privately and deliberately. Usually, we insist on written responses; writing elicits more careful thought than just speaking about something. Sometimes, however, the teacher will find it advisable to make the value sheets in whole or in part optional, or to permit students to write their responses anonymously. This is especially helpful when students might fear being completely candid in a certain area or when the teacher does not feel confident that he can insist that a student deliberate about certain ideas, such as religion. Each teacher will find his own way, but the following approaches are those we have found useful.

Students do value sheets for homework or during study times. They may even be especially appropriate for weekend assignments, when students feel somewhat fewer pressures and have more time for unhurried thought. Then, several alternatives are possible:

1. Students discuss their written answers in small groups without the teacher's presence. This forces the students to think through issues without looking to the teacher for "the right way."
2. Students turn in their writings and the teacher later reads, without comment or evaluation, selected viewpoints that raise interesting alternatives and/or nicely illluminate the issue. This is best done without the teacher identifying the writer, however with the writer having the opportunity to claim credit for what is read to the class if he so wishes. Discussion may follow.
3. Students turn in their writings and the teacher return them with occasional comments in the margins. The comments should, of course,

be in the style of the value theory and should ask further questions that help the student rethink certain aspects of what he has written. For example, asking students if something they wrote came after considering alternatives, or asking them to define a work or an idea, or asking them if they really live in ways consistent with what they write, these are all valuable comments to use in reacting to what a student writes for a value sheet. Naturally, the teacher does not evaluate the students' values. He may, however, evaluate the language usage, spelling, etc.

4. Students turn in their writings to a committee which selects representative ones to be read to the class or posted on the bulletin board.

5. Each student completes written answers and then the class has a general discussion about the topic. This is useful inasmuch as it raises for some students new alternatives and ideas. It is harmful inasmuch as pressures for conformity tend to develop. In any case, it is preferable for group discussion to follow individual thought on value sheets and the teacher should strive to protect the right of dissent and, in fact, himself should present alternative arguments when they are not forthcoming from the group. Without individual commitment to a position after full examination of the alternative argument, no values can be very firm or intelligent.

6. After a while, the teacher may find that some students will want to make up value lessons for the class. This will occur after the sense of the value process is absorbed, and it is to be encouraged. We recommend, in fact, that students be taught the criteria for a value and how to make effective value sheets.

VALUES EDUCATION

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Take this, completed, to your Workshop.

Worksheet for Alternative E
WHOSE VALUES?

SAMPLE

Task for Objective 1: Listen for examples of value indicators expressed by students. List three or more below.

Task for Objective 2: Identify a situation or situations in which one or more of Raths' six conditions are present. Briefly describe it and report it to your Workshop Group.

Tasks for Objective 3: (1) Create a value sheet for use with your prospective students. Make six copies for group members; (2) Briefly describe one "strategy" you will teach your group from Values Clarification (available in Center).

Your name ______________________ 3010 3040 (please circle one)

TURN IN THIS SHEET AND ONE COPY OF YOUR VALUE SHEET AFTER WORKSHOP.

Take this, completed, to your Workshop.

Worksheet for Alternative E
WHOSE VALUES?

Task for Objective 1: Listen for examples of value indicators expressed by students. List three or more below.

Task for Objective 2: Identify a situation or situations in which one or more of Raths'six conditions are present. Briefly describe it and report it to your Workshop Group.

Tasks for Objective 3: (1) Create a value sheet for use with your prospective students. Make six copies for group members; (2) Briefly describe one "strategy" you will teach your group from Values Clarification (available in Center).

Your name ________________________________ 3010 3040 (please circle one)

TURN IN THIS SHEET AND ONE COPY OF YOUR VALUE SHEET AFTER WORKSHOP.

SAMPLE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/2 /3 /4 /5
high

Suggestions for improving ____

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

Suggestions for improving ____

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

MODULE II - HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

Rationale

It is appropriate that anyone who expects to work within the public school setting be familiar with the origins, development, and philosophical underpinnings of that institution. In pursuit of this general goal the student should develop the following understandings:

An understanding of the long term development of a public school system open to all people;

An understanding of the relationship between a free society and universal, free public education;

An understanding of some of the major developments, events, concepts, and personalities that have shaped education in America.

Objectives

Upon completion of this module the student should identify and relate to the development of education in America, major events, movements, concepts and personalities.

Materials

Cremin, Lawrence A. "John Dewey and The Progressive Education Movement, 1915-1952"

Kneller, George F. "Contemporary Educational Theories"

Rogers, Carl. "The Interpersonal Relationship in the Facilitation of Learning"

Skinner, B.F. "Freedom and the Control of Men"

Van Til. Education: A Beginning (Text)

Many additional references are available in Belk Library and should be consulted by the conscientious student.

Environment

The Center

Classroom-Edwin Duncan Hall

Activities and Assessment

"C" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read Kneller, pages 125-143.
2. Read Van Til, pages 129-151.
3. Take Test C.

"B" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read Kneller, pages 125-143.
2. Read Van Til, pages 129-151.
3. Take Test C.
4. Read Cremin, pages 157-166.
5. Take Test B (Essay questions)

"A" level of competency

All of #1-5 above plus:

6. Read Skinner, pages 145-156.
7. Read Rogers, pages 167-181.
8. Prepare for a debate comparing and contrasting the ideas on education of Skinner and Rogers. Ask for help in beginning from the instructor if needed. Sign up on the bulletin board. Four to eight people may form one group.
9. Complete the Worksheet in preparation for the debate.

SHOO FOR THE STARS IV

CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL THEORIES

by
George F. Kneller

The word "theory" has two central meanings. It can refer to a hypothesis or set of hypotheses that have been verified by observation or experiment, as in the case of the theory of gravitation. It can also be a general synonym for systematic thinking or a set of coherent thoughts. As regards theory in the first sense, education awaits development, and we shall discuss what there is of it in Part Four. As regards theory in the second sense, education has harvested a veritable cornucopia.

In this chapter I shall explore four educational theories that lead or have led to programs of reform. Although these theories tend to flow from formal philosophies, they take on a special character because they are conditioned largely by experience unique to education. Two other modes of thinking about education - existentialism and analysis - I will leave for separate treatment.

In this country the first educational theory to excite widespread attention was that of "Progressivism." The progressive movement, to be analyzed presently, burst upon the educational scene with revolutionary force. It called for the replacement of time-honored practices by a new kind of education based on social change and the findings of the behavioral sciences. The very force of the progressive movement and the publicity that it received paved the way for a counterrevolution. A revived conservatism decried the excesses for the progressivists, at the same time accepting some of their more moderate doctrines. This movement was known as "Perennialism." I will discuss it now because its fundamental themes antedated those of progressivism.

PERENNIALISM

Against the progressive emphasis on change and novelty, perennialists call for allegiance to absolute principles. Despite momentous social upheavals, permanence, they say, is more real than change. It is also more desirable as an ideal. In a world of increasing precariousness and uncertainty nothing can be more beneficial than steadfastness of educational purpose and stability in educational behavior.[1] The basic principles of perennialism may be outlined in six categories.

1. Despite differing environments, human nature remains the same everywhere; hence, education should be the same for everyone. "The function of a citizen or a subject," writes Robert M. Hutchins,

> . . . may vary from society to society. . .But the function of a man,

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Foundations in Education, George F. Kneller, editor, 3rd edition, 1971. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

[1] Perennialism's philosophic foundations are embedded in classical realism; the philosophers most quoted are Aristotle and Aquinas. Among its leading spokesmen are Robert Maynard Hutchins, Mortimer J. Adler, and Sir Richard Livingstone, an English classicist who has won an appreciable following in the United States. Although perennialist ideas are in practice nearly everywhere, they have been applied most consistently at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland.

> as a man, is the same in every age and in every society, since it results from his nature as a man. The aim of an educational system is the same in every age and in every society where such a system can exist: it is to improve man as man.[2]

Or, in Mortimer Adler's words,

> If man is a rational animal, constant in nature throughout history, then there must be certain constant features in every sound educational program, regardless of culture or epoch.[3]

Knowledge, too, is everywhere the same. If it were not, learned men could never agree on anything. Opinion, of course is different; here men may disagree. (But when they do agree, opinion becomes knowledge.) Admittedly, the acquisition of knowledge is not easy and some children are apt to resist it. Admittedly, too, some children take longer to learn than others. But this only means that we must spend more time with them. Are we not, asks the perennialist, fostering a false notion of equality when we promote children on the basis of age rather than intellectual attainment? Is it not likely that they will gain greater self-respect from knowing that they have earned promotion by passing the same tests as those given to other children of their age?

2. Since rationality is man's highest attribute, he must use it to direct his instinctual nature in accordance with deliberately chosen ends. Men are free, but they must learn to cultivate reason and control their appetites. When a child fails to learn, teachers should not be quick to place the blame on an unhappy environment or an unfortunate psychological train of events. Rather, the teacher's job is to overcome these handicaps through an essentially intellectual approach to learning that will be the same for all his pupils. Nor should teachers become permissive on the grounds that only thus may a child relieve his tensions and express his true self. No child should be permitted to determine his own educational experience, for what he wants may not be what he should have.

3. It is education's task to impart knowledge of eternal truth. In Hutchins' celebrated deduction,

> Education implies teaching. Teaching implies knowledge. Knowledge is truth. The truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same.[4]

Education should seek to adjust the individual not to the world as such but to what is true. Adjustment to truth is the end of learning.

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[2] Robert Maynard Hutchins, The Conflict in Education, Harper, New York, 1953, p. 68.

[3] Mortimer J. Adler, "The Crisis in Contemporary Education," The Social Frontier, V, 141-144 (February 1939).

[4] Robert Maynard Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1936, p. 66.

4. Education is not an imitation of life, but a preparation for it. The school can never be a "real-life situation." Nor should it be; it remains for the child an artificial arrangement in which he becomes acquainted with the finest achievements of his cultural heritage. His task is to realize the values of this heritage and, where possible, add to its achievements through his own endeavors.

5. The student should be taught certain basic subjects that will acquaint him with the world's permanencies. He should not be hustled into studies that seem important at the time. Nor should he be allowed to learn what appeals to him at a particular age. He should study English, languages, history, mathematics, natural science, philosophy, and fine arts. "The basic education of a rational animal," writes Adler,

> . . . is the discipline of his rational powers and the cultivation of his intellect. This discipline is achieved through the liberal arts, the arts of reading and listening, of writing and speaking, and, perforce, of thinking, since man is a social animal as well as a rational one and his intellectual life is lived in a community which can exist only through the communication of men. The three R's, which always signified the formal disciplines, are the essence of liberal or general education.[5]

Vocational, industrial, and similar types of education may be included, provided their instruction is intellectually sound. However, the school does not exist to train for occupational tasks; these are best left to practitioners in the field. Nor should the school stump for social reform. Democracy will progress because people are properly educated and not because they have been taught to agitate for social change.

6. Students should study the great works of literature, philosophy, history, and science in which men through the ages have revealed their greatest aspirations and achievements. The message of the past is never dated. By examining it, the student learns truths that are more important than any he could find by pursuing his own interests or dipping into the contemporary scene. Mortimer Adler summarizes this view admirably:

> If there is philosophical wisdom as well as scientific knowledge, if the former consists of insights and ideas that change little from time to time, and if even the latter has many abiding concepts and a relatively constant method, if the great works of literature as well as of philosophy touch upon the permanent moral problems of mankind and express the universal convictions of men involved in moral conflict - if these things are so, then the great books of ancient and medieval, as well as modern, times are a repository of knowledge and wisdom, a tradition of culture which must initiate each new generation. The reading of these books is

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[5] Adler, op. cit., p. 62.

> not for antiquarian purposes; the interest is not archaeological or philological. . . .Rather the books are to be read because they are as contemporary today as when they were written, and that because the problems they deal with and the ideas they present are not subject to the law of perpetual and interminable progress.[6]

In short, say the perennialists, the minds of most young Americans have never really been exercised in intellectual matters, largely because teachers themselves are indifferent and give up too quickly. It is much easier to teach students at their own pace and in accordance with what they want to learn. Yet, in allowing the child's superficial inclinations to determine what he learns, we may actually hinder him from developing his real talents. Self-realization demands self-discipline, and self-discipline is attained only through external discipline. Those higher interests - literary, artistic, political, and religious - one or more of which are latent in everyone, do not emerge without hard work and application. It is all too easy to underestimate the child's abilities in these directions. Why not make every man a king in some intellectual realm? This, surely, is a worthier goal than settling for intellectual mediocrity and falsely equating such mediocrity with individual freedom.

Critique of Perennialism

Perennialists may be accused of fostering an "aristocracy of intellect" and unreasonably restricting their teaching to the classical tradition of the Great Books. They fail to appreciate that, although many children lack the particular intellectual gifts perennialism emphasizes, they nevertheless become good citizens and productive workers. To subject them to the same sort of rigorous academic training as that given to students of university caliber is to ignore this difference and perhaps to injure their personal growth. Indeed, such a practice actually may retard the development of attributes that are equally as valuable as any academic qualities they may have acquired in school. The intellect is only one side of a man's personality. And although rational behavior is indispensable to human progress, the affective and uniquely personal side can ill afford to be subordinated.[7]

PROGRESSIVISM

By the turn of the century a number of educators already had rebelled against the excessive formalism of traditional education, with its emphasis on strict discipline, passive learning, and pointless detail. As far back as the 1870s Francis W. Parker was advocating school reforms later to be revised and formalized by John Dewey. However, Dewey's first major work, Schools of Tomorrow, was not published until 1915, and another four years went by before the Progressive Education Association was founded. Thus, progressivism had been on the move for 30 years before its impact actually was felt. In its early stages it was largely individualist in temper, reflecting the bohemianism of the age; it was at this point that it attracted the support of William Heard Kilpatrick of Columbia University.

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[6] Ibid., p. 63. Thus Adler expounds what has been called the "Great Books" Theory.

[7] Many other criticisms may be leveled at perennialism, but they are inherent in the tenets of rival doctrines, as outlined in this chapter. On the matter of the sameness of human nature everywhere, however, I cannot refrain from citing a retort attributed to the anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn: "Every man is in certain respects (a) like all other men, (b) like some other men, (c) like no other man."

With the onset of the Depression, however, progressivism swung its weight behind a movement for social change, thus sacrificing its earlier emphasis on individual development and embracing such ideals as "cooperation," "sharing," and "adjustment." During this period it was joined by John L. Childs, George Counts, and Boyd H. Bode. The Progressive Education Association has long been disbanded, and the movement suffered a major reversal after the USSR displayed its sputnik,[8] but progressivism continues to exercise considerable influence through the individual work of such contemporaries as George Axtelle, William O. Stanley, Ernest Bayles, Lawrence G. Thomas, and Frederick C. Neff.

Taking the pragmatist view that change, not permanence, is the essence of reality, progressivism in its pure form declares that education is always in the process of development. Educators must be ready to modify methods and policies in the light of new knowledge and changes in the environment. The special quality of education is not to be determined by applying perennial standards of goodness, truth, and beauty, but by construing education as a continual reconstruction of experience. As Dewey expresses it,

> We thus reach a technical definition of education: it is that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases the ability to direct the course of subsequent experience.[9]

However, during the course of its development progressivism began to make some assertions of its own, six of which I will now discuss.

1. Education should be life itself, not a preparation for living. Intelligent living involves the interpretation and reconstruction of experience. The child should enter into learning situations suited to his age and oriented toward experiences that he is likely to undergo in adult life.

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[8] Progressivism always attracted a lion's share of criticism, but never more so than during the days of mingled amazement and humiliation that followed the launching of the first Soviet sputnik. Americans had been convinced that Russian education was undemocratic and authoritarian and, therefore, ineffective. But how could such success in science and technology be explained? Could it be that American schools were paying too much attention to the children they taught and too little to the subjects they taught them? There was a revulsion against the "child-centeredness" identified with progressivism. Americans, it was said, had pandered to their children too long; the nation was going soft; the rot must be stopped.

[9] John Dewey, Democracy and Education, Macmillan, New York, 1916, p. 89.

2. Learning should be directly related to the interests of the child. Progressive educators introduce the concept of the "whole child" as an answer to what they consider partial interpretations of the child's nature.[10] Thus Kilpatrick advocates the "child-centered" school, in which the process of learning is determined mainly by the individual child. A young person, he says, is naturally disposed to learn whatever relates to his interests or appears to solve his problems; at the same time, he naturally tends to resist whatever he feels to be imposed on him from above. The child, then, should learn because he needs and wants to learn, not necessarily because someone else thinks that he should. He should be able to see the relevance of what he learns to his own life and not to an adult's conception of the sort of life that a child of his age should be leading.

This does not mean that the child should be allowed to follow every prompting of his own desires, if only for the fact that he is not mature enough to define significant purposes. And although he may have much to do in determining the learning process, he is not its final arbiter. He needs guidance and direction from teachers who are equipped to perceive meaning in his discrete activities. The child experiences a continuous reconstruction of his private interests as they move to embrace the logical content of subject matter.[11]

Even so, the progressivist teacher influences the growth of his pupils not by drumming bits of information into their heads but by controlling the environment in which growth takes place. Growth is defined as the "increase of intelligence in the management of life" and "intelligent adaptation to an environment." Dewey advised the teacher: "Now see to it that day by day the conditions are such that their own activities move inevitably in this direction, toward such culmination of themselves."[12]

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[10] William Heard Kilpatrick, "The Essentials of the Activity Movement," Progressive Education, II (October 1934) 357-358: "The conception of 'the whole child' carries two implications which at bottom agree: one, that we wish at no time to disregard the varied aspects of child life; the other, that the child as an organism properly responds as one unified whole."

[11] The view that the individual child should be the center of the school's activity is much older than the writings of either Dewey or the progressivists. It was advocated, for varying philosophical reasons, by Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi, Francis Parker, and G. Stanley Hall. However, it underwent a radical shift in meaning within the context of the moral relativism advanced by the progressive movement. When Froebel, for instance, argued for the free unfolding of the child's nature, he did so with an absolute goal in mind -- that of allowing the child to unite himself spontaneously with God under the inspired guidance of his teacher. Progressivism acknowledges no absolute goal, unless it is social progress attained through individual freedom.

[12] John Dewey, The Child and the Curriculum, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., 1943, p. 31.

3. Learning through problem solving should take precedence over the inculcating of subject matter. Progressivists reject the view that learning consists essentially of the reception of knowledge and that knowledge itself is an abstract substance that the teacher loads into the minds of his pupils. Knowledge, they declare, is a "tool for managing experience," for handling the continuously novel situations with which the mutability of life confronts us. If knowledge is to be significant, we must be able to do something with it; hence, it must be wedded to experience. Dewey says that we have learned all this from experimantal science:

> The most direct blow at the traditional separation of doing and knowing and at the traditional prestige of purely "intellectual" studies, however, has been given by the progress of experimental science. If this progress has demonstrated anything, it is that there is no such thing as genuine knowledge and fruitful understanding except as the offspring of doing. . . .Men have to do something to the things when they wish to find out something; they have to alter conditions. This is the lesson of the laboratory method, and the lesson which all education has to learn.[13]

Thus, the search for abstract knowledge must be translated into an active educational experience. If the student is to gain any real appreciation of social and political ideas, the classroom itself must become a living experiment in social democracy. Indeed, experience and experiment are the key words of the progressivist method of learning. Dewey does not reject the content of traditional subject matter; on the contrary, he insists that much of it be retained. But, he says, subject matter constantly changes in terms of what men do with their environment. Consequently, education cannot be limited to a recollection of information obtained solely from a teacher or a textbook. It is not the absorption of previous knowledge that counts but its constant reconstruction in the light of new discoveries. Thus, problem solving must be seen not as the search for merely functional knowledge, but as a "perpetual grappling" with subject matter. Grappling is to be understood not only as physical motion, that is, handling test tubes, or counting money, or raising one's hand to vote, but also as critical thinking, reconstruction of previously held ideas, and discovery.

Instead of teaching formal subject matter, we should substitute specific problem areas such as transportation, communication, and trade. But not even these can be fixed too far in advance. "Thus a curriculum," declares Lawrence G. Thomas,

> . . . .cannot be more than outlined broadly in advance by the teacher and will consist largely of an array of resources which the teacher anticipates may be called upon as the current

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[13] Dewey, Democracy and Education, op. cit., pp.321-322.

> activities of the class lead on to new interests and new problems. The actual details of the curriculum must be constructed cooperatively in the classroom from week to week.[14]

Kilpatrick suggests that, instead of trying to grasp abstract principles on a theoretical level, the child should study particular topics or situations, such as Galileo's method of experimentation or the way in which the Hopi Indians gather and prepare food. The purpose is to enable the student to cope with his own problems by observing how others have done so elsewhere and at other times. The student engages in projects that (a) spring from his natural curiosity to learn and (b) acquire significance as they are worked out in cooperation with other members of the class and under the guidance of the teacher. Thus, all projects should be both personally and socially significant.

4. *The teacher's role is not to direct but to advise.* Because their own needs and desires determine what they learn, children should be allowed to plan their own development and the teacher should guide the learning involved. He should employ his greater knowledge and experience to help them whenever they reach an impasse. Without directing the course of events, he works with the children for the attainment of mutually agreeable ends. "In the Progressive view," declares Lawrence G. Thomas,

> . . . .the teacher merely has superior and richer experience to bring to bear on the analysis of the present situation. . . . .The teacher is vitally important as stage setter, guide, and coordinator, but he is not the sole source of authority.[15]

5. *The school should encourage cooperation rather than competition.* Men are social by nature and derive their greatest satisfaction from their relations with one another. Progressivists maintain that love and partnership are more appropriate to education than competition and personal gain. Thus education as the "reconstruction of experience" leads to the "reconstruction of human nature" in a social setting. The progressivist does not deny that competition has a certain value. He agrees that students should compete with one another, provided that such competition fosters personal growth. Nevertheless, he insists that cooperation is better suited than competition to the biological and social facts of human nature. Rugged individualism is permissible only when it serves the general good.[16]

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[14] Lawrence G. Thomas, "The Meaning of 'Progress' to Progressive Education," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XXXII, 7 (October, 1946), 399.

[15] Op. cit., 398.

[16] Progressivism rejects the social Darwinist view, developed by Herbert Spencer, that society should imitate nature and encourage competition. Life in the jungle does indeed appear "red in tooth and claw," but only when animals are hungry, angered, or mating. Even if nature did possess the characteristics imputed to it by social Darwinism, the argument that since ruthlessness is present in nature, it is therefore desirable in society, would still be untenable. Because they are unable to control their condition, animals cannot improve it; man, who is, can.

6. Only democracy permits -- indeed encourages -- the free interplay of ideas and personalities that is a necessary condition of true growth. Principles 5 and 6 are interrelated, because in the progressivist view democracy and cooperation are said to imply each other. Ideally democracy is "shared experience." As Dewey puts it, "A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience." Democracy, growth, and education are thus interrelated. In order to teach democracy, the school itself must be democratic. It should promote student government, the free discussion of ideas, joint pupil-staff planning, and the full participation of all in the educative experience. However, schools should not indoctrinate students in the tenets of a new social order. To instruct them in a specific program of social and political action would be to adopt an authoritarianism that progressivism specifically rejects.

Critique of Progressivism

I have already stated that some of Dewey's followers carried his teachings to lengths he himself never intended. This is particularly true of his "doctrine of interest." One result was the much criticized "child-activity movement" that flourished during the 1930s and early 1940s. Self-activity may well lead to individual improvement, social betterment, and the good life. But how are "improvement," "betterment," and "the good life" to be defined? If the child is to be permitted freedom for self-activity, there should be a fixed goal for him to attain. The conception of child activity admirably illustrates the progressivist theory that growth should lead to more growth. Yet the entire process seems circular in nature. Growth as such cannot be self-justifying, for we need to know to what end it is directed. We require the assurance that, when we strive to achieve a certain goal, it will be desirable in itself when we actually attain it and not liable to replacement by another goal.

The progressivist has good psychological grounds for his claim that the child is not a little adult and that he must not be treated simply as a scholar. Rousseau was one of the first to call this fact to our attention. He also stated that it was useless to expect a child to indulge in abstract intellectual pursuits until he had reached the age of reason. Instead, a child should learn the things he is capable of understanding through personal discovery. However, his life displays many features, not the least of which is a process of intellectual growth and change. Is it not risky, therefore, to allow the child's interests so great an influence over what he learns? Viewed in retrospect, today's interests may seem as dull as yesterday's newspaper. How far should we give way to the child's desire to be a cowboy? How far should we encourage his desire to shoot Indians? Progressivists themselves are aware of the dangers of too great an emphasis on "presentism" in educational practice. Boyd Bode points out that the school should lead the child not merely to live but also to "transcend" his immediate existence and outgrow any habit that might keep him immature. It is part of the intelligent life, and therefore of education itself, to heed the demands of the future as well as those of the present.

It is also difficult to see how the school could be a replica of life, even if it tried. Inevitably the school is an artificial learning situation, beset with restrictions and prohibitions different from those encountered in life as a whole. Not only is it simply one life situation, it is also only one educational agency. It assumes tasks that other social agencies cannot handle. Indeed, the logic of the progressivist leads him to an odd dilemma. On the one hand, he advocates a real-life situation; on the other, he calls for types of tolerance, freedom, and control rarely permitted by the stern exigencies of life.

Progressivists claim that learning through problem solving leads to more genuine intellectual attainment than do other methods of learning. But this claim cannot be verified. Protagonists point to such experiments as the Eight-Year Study of 1933 to show that students who have been prepared for college by progressive methods do as well as, or better than, those prepared in the traditional way.[17] But the study is not definitive. Critics insist that the number of uncontrolled variables in the experiment nullifies its validity. Even so, Dewey did not intend that learning should remain indefinitely at the level of problem solving. On the contrary, problem solving is a means by which the child is led from practical issues to theoretical principles, from the concrete and sensory to the abstract and intellectual.[18]

The progressivist cites in his defense the fact that education culminates at the graduate level, where the professor acts more as a resource person than as a dictator of studies. Although graduate education permits the student considerable personal freedom, it is debatable whether elementary and secondary education should adopt the same procedure. We allow graduate students this freedom because they are intellectually mature and presumably can recognize where their true interests lie. The progressivist could reply that his methods of learning accustom the child to independent research and self-reliance from the very beginning of his school career; they enable him to reach this intellectual maturity earlier than he is permitted to at present. The core of the dispute reduces itself to the question of how far the self-discipline necessary to intellectual maturity can be self-taught and how far it should be developed through external discipline. However, since the ability to discriminate between essential and nonessential knowledge is largely an adult achievement, it would seem that the teacher himself should impart the bulk of what the child learns.

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[17] W. Aiken, The Story of the Eight-Year Study, Harper, New York, 1942. Aiken concluded that what was important was not the type or number of subjects studied but the quality of the work done.

[18] Cf. Foster McMurray, "The Present Status of Pragmatism in Education," School and Society, LXXXVII (2145) (January 17, 1959), 14-15: "Clearly the intent of Dewey's theory was to stimulate more and better learning of arts, sciences, and technologies. There was in this program no concern for immediate practical or directly utilitarian bits of information and technique, nor any process of choosing and organizing information around characteristic activities of daily life. On the contrary, in Dewey's version of pragmatism, characteristic activities of daily life were psychologically useful starting points for moving the learner to a consideration of meanings increasingly remote, abstract, and related to one another in impersonal systems rather than to practical daily use."

On the matter of cooperation as opposed to competition I will mention only one point. The individual wishing to contribute to the general good may on occasion be unable to cooperate, precisely because his ideals and life style are unacceptable to the group. The tyranny of the group has dangers of its own; it is not necessarily more clear-headed than the individual. The mass mind at times may wear moral and intellectual blinders that a single mind does not. We must therefore make sure that our cooperation is free and unforced - in short, that it does not become conformism.

Finally, Dewey's definition of democracy may be more comprehensive than most; nevertheless, although his theory of democracy leads him to certain conclusions about behavior in the school, other doctrines are equally as democratic. Until recently French education has been authoritarian (judged by progressivist standards), but France is surely a democracy, and her educational system corresponds to the wishes of the majority of her people. Perennialism, which has been criticized as reactionary and antidemocratic, is committed just as firmly to democracy as is progressivism. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a more vigorous defender of the democratic way of life; all of them are permissible, but none is definitive. American democracy has room for all sorts of responsible educational ideas.

Even so, progressivism has introduced many worthwhile reforms into American education, reforms that other outlooks must consider if they wish to retain their influence. By drawing attention to the currents of change and renewal that run constantly through the universe and through education itself, and by continually challenging the existing order, progressivism expresses an educational attitude of abiding significance.

ESSENTIALISM

Essentialism is not linked formally to any philosophic tradition, but is compatible with a variety of philosophic outlooks. Unlike perennialism, some of whose views it rejects, it is not opposed to progressivism as a whole but only to specific aspects. In maintaining that there are certain essentials that all men should know if they are to be considered educated, it does not repudiate Dewey's epistemology so much as the pronouncements of his less cautious followers. The essentialists devote their main efforts to (a) reexamining curricular matters, (b) distinguishing the essential and the nonessential in school programs, and (c) reestablishing the authority of the teacher in the classroom.

Founded in the early 1930's, the essentialist movement included such educators as William C. Bagley, Thomas Briggs, Frederick Breed, and Isaac L. Kandel. It also won the support of Hermen H. Horne. In 1938 these men formed the Essentialist Committee for the Advancement of American Education. The tradition continues in the writings of William Brickman, editor of School and Society. The Council for Basic Education, whose most active members are Arthur Bestor and Mortimer Smith, may also be considered essentialist in spirit, although members are skeptical of the value of formal educational studies by specialists in education. In fact, they say, the "educational establishment," consisting chiefly of schools and professors of education, is largely responsible for what they believe to be the sorry state of American education today.[19]

Like perennialism, essentialism stands for the reinstatement of subject matter at the center of the educational process. However, it does not share the perennialist's view that the true subject matter of education is the "eternal verities" preserved in the "great books" of Western civilization. These books should be used, but not for themselves. They should be made to relate to present realities.

Some essentialists turn to educational psychology for knowledge about the process of learning and the nature of the learner. Others are less confident. Although not denying the relevance to education of the findings of the behavioral sciences, they nevertheless view them more critically. In a field such as psychology, where little is claimed that is not instantly disputed, the educator, they say, would be wise to tread cautiously. Field theory conflicts with behaviorism and functionalism with psychoanalysis, so that it is impossible to tell which provides the more reliable knowledge. Until the findings of educational psychology become more genuinely scientific, some essentialists will regard them with considerable skepticism.

Essentialists have no united front. Since they hold different philosophies, it is not surprising that they disagree on the ultimate nature and value of education. Agreement is reached, however, on four fundamental principles.

1. *Learning, of its very nature, involves hard work and often unwilling application*. The essentialist insists on the importance of discipline. Instead of stressing the child's immediate interests, he urges dedication to more distant goals. Against the progressive emphasis on personal interest, he posits the concept of effort. He agrees that interest in a subject does much to create the effort needed to master it, but points out that higher and more enduring interests are not normally felt at the outset; they arise through hard work from beginnings that do not in themselves attract the learner. Thus, the command of a foreign language, once attained, opens new worlds for the mind; yet the beginner often must overcome initial apathy and probably distaste. As the Frenchman says, "The

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[19] Critics of education as a formal study usually advocate that "what little there is of it" should be incorporated into other disciplines. The philosophy of education, then, would be taught by professors of philosophy in the department of philosophy; the history of education would handled in a department of history; and so on. But why stop with education? The philosophy of science, of history, of politics, etc., by this reasoning, would all be taught in a philosophy department. Indeed, since all subjects are usually taught in English, why not deal with them all in an English department? Conversely, since all disciplines are educational, why not teach them all in a department of education? Bestor, a historian, would substantially reduce the number of professional courses taken by student teachers and curtail the influence of educationists on the practice of education. Brickman, an educationist, calls for more data and fewer polemics from writers such as Bestor who, in his view, are not qualified to make responsible judgments about a field as complex as education.

appetite comes while eating."

Among living things man alone can resist his immediate impulses. If we do not encourage this capacity in the child, we make it harder for him to attain the self-discipline necessary to achieve any worthwhile end. The vast majority of students attain personal control only through voluntary submission to discipline intelligently imposed by the teacher.

2. The initiative in education should lie with the teacher rather than with the pupil. The teacher's role is to mediate between the adult world and the world of the child. The teacher has been specially prepared for this task and is, therefore, much better qualified to guide the growth of his pupils than they are themselves. Isaac L. Kandel maintains that:

> The essentialist is no less interested than the progressive in the principle that learning cannot be successful unless it is based on the capacities, interests, and purpose of the learner, but he believes those interests and purposes must be made over by the skill of the teacher, who is master of that "logical organization" called subjects and who understands the process of educational development.[20]

Thus, the essentialist teacher wields greater authority than does his progressivist colleague.[21]

3. The heart of the educational process is the assimilation of prescribed subject matter. This view accords with the philosophic realist's position that it is largely man's material and social environment that dictates how he shall live. The essentialist agrees that education should enable the individual to realize his potentialities, but such realization must take place in a world independent of the individual -- a world whose laws he must obey. The purpose of the child's attending school is to get to know this world as it really is and not to interpret in in the light of his own peculiar desires. Nor can he assimilate such knowledge haphazardly in whatever order he likes. It must be presented to him in accordance with the logical organization of subject matter.[22]

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[20] Quoted by William W. Brickman, "Essentialism -- Ten Years After," School and Society, XLVII (May 15, 1948), 365.

[21] William W. Brickman, "The Essentialist Spirit in Education," School and Society, LXXXVI (October 11, 1958), 364: "Essentialism places the teacher at the center of the educational universe. This teacher must have a liberal education, a scholarly knowledge of the field of learning, a deep understanding of the psychology of children and of the learning process, an ability to impart facts and ideals to the younger generation, an application of the historical-philosophical foundations of education, and a serious devotion to his work."

[22] Isaac L. Kandel, Conflicting Theories of Education, Macmillan, New York, 1938, p. 99: "Since the environment carries in itself the stamp of the past and the seeds of the future, the curriculum must inevitably include that knowledge and information which will acquaint the pupil with the social heritage, introduce him to the world about him, and prepare him for the future."

Essentialists emphasize the importance of "race experience"— the "social heritage"— over the experience of the individual. This heritage summarizes the experiences of millions in attempting to come to terms with their environment. The wisdom of the many, tested by history, is far more reliable than the untested experience of the child.

4. The school should retain traditional methods of mental discipline. There are, it is true, certain advantages to the progressive method of problem solving, but it is not a procedure to be applied throughout the entire learning process. Of its very nature much knowledge is abstract and cannot be broken up into discrete problems.

Although "learning by doing" may be appropriate in certain circumstances and for certain children, it should not be generalized. Must the child actually build a wigwam in order to learn how the Indian becomes domesticated? There is no doubt that doing so will help him to understand the Indian's way of life, but such an experience should support the learning process rather than constitute its essence. The child should be taught essential concepts, even if such concepts have to be adapted to his own psychological and intellectual level.

How does essentialism differ from perennialism? First, it advocates a less totally "intellectual" education, for it is concerned not so much with certain supposedly eternal truths as with the adjustment of the individual to his physical and social environment. Second, it is more willing to absorb the positive contributions that progressivism has made to educational methods. Finally, where perennialism reveres the great creative achievements of the past as timeless expressions of man's universal insights, essentialism uses them as sources of knowledge for dealing with problems of the present.[23]

RECONSTRUCTIONISM

As far back as 1920 John Dewey suggested the term "reconstructionism" in the title of his book, Reconstruction in Philosophy. In the early 1930s, a group known as the "Frontier Thinkers" called on the school to lead the way toward the creation of a "new" and "more equitable" society. Their leading spokesmen were George Counts and Harold Rugg. Counts had written The American Road to Culture (1930) and Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?(1932), and Rugg had published Culture and Education in America (1931). At this time progressivists such as W. H. Kilpatrick and John Childs were also urging education to become more aware of its social responsibilities. But they disagreed with the contention of Counts and Rugg that the school should commit itself to specific social reforms; they preferred instead to stress the general end of social growth through education.

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[23] Most attacks made on public education in the United States are likely to be essentialist in nature. The criticism of commentators such as Paul Woodring and James B. Conant is more conciliatory and could be placed halfway between the progressive and the essentialist points of view. Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, although not a professional educator, has affinities with both essentialism and perennialism. Like many essentialists, he esteems the contributions made to educational practice by the physical sciences more highly than he does those made by the behavioral sciences. He advocates more emphasis on knowledge for its own sake. Speaking as a professor of English, Jacques Barzun leans toward perennialism rather than essentialism, largely because he places the humanities at the center of the curriculum and believes in studying them for their own sake.

Two decades later, as the progressive movement lost its momentum, further attempts were made to extend Deweyan philosophy into socially committed educational theories. In his major work, The Ideal and the Community (1958), Isaac B. Berkson sought a rapprochement of progressivism and essentialism, suggesting that although the school itself should not take the lead in social reform, it could cooperate with movements already underway that advocated a more thorough realization of liberal cultural values. However, it was Theodore Brameld who laid the foundations of "social reconstructionism" with the publication of Patterns of Educational Philosophy (1950), followed by Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education (1956) and Education as Power (1965).[24] My resumé of reconstructionism will be limited to five of the main theses that Brameld puts forward.

1. Education must commit itself here and now to the creation of a new social order that will fulfill the basic values of our culture and at the same time harmonize with the underlying social and economic forces of the modern world. Claiming to be the philosophy of an "age in crisis," reconstructionism sounds a note of urgency not heard in other educational theories. Civilization, it declares, now faces the possibility of self-annihilation. Education must lead to a profound change in the minds of men, so that the enormous technological power at our disposal may be used to create rather than to destroy. Society must be transformed, not simply through political action, but more fundamentally through the education of its members to a new vision of their life in common, This commitment to the new order is not tenuous but urgent and direct. Reconstructionism, writes Brameld,

> ...commits itself, first of all, to the building of a new culture. It is infused with a profound conviction that we are in the midst of a revolutionary period out of which would emerge nothing less

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[24] In his Patterns of Educational Philosophy, World Book, Yonkers, N. Y., 1950, p. 204, Brameld criticizes progressivism as "dilatory" and "inefficient." It is, he says, "the educational effort of an adolescent culture, suffering from the pleasant agonies of growing up, from the cultural period of trying and erring when the protections of infancy have been left behind but the planned autonomies of maturity await future delineation and fulfillment."

> than control of the industrial system, of public services, and of cultural and natural resources by and for the common people who, throughout the ages, have struggled for a life of security, decency, and peace for them and their children.[25]

2. The new society must be a genuine democracy, whose major institutions and resources are controlled by the people themselves. Anything that sufficiently affects the public interest, whether pensions, health, or industry, should become the responsibility of elected popular representatives. Thus Brameld declares:

> Control by the largest possible majority of the principal institutions and resources of any culture is the supreme test of democracy...the working people should control all principal institutions and resources if the world is to become genuinely democratic.[26]

Since the ideal society is a democracy, it must also be realized democratically. The structure, goals, and policies of the new order must be approved at the bar of public opinion and enacted with the fullest possible measure of popular support. A revolution that takes place in the minds of a people is more profound and lasting than any change brought about by politicians alone. And the logical end of national democracy is international democracy, a form of world government in which all states will participate.[27]

3. The child, the school, and education itself are conditioned inexorably by social and cultural forces. Progressivism, says Brameld, overstates the case for individual freedom and understates the extent to which we are all socially conditioned. In its concern to find ways in

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[25] Theodore Brameld, "Philosophies of Education in an Age of Crisis," School and Society, LXV (June 21, 1947), 452.

[26] Theodore Brameld, Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education, Dryden, New York, 1956, pp. 328-329.

[27] Theodore Brameld, Education as Power, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, p. 6: "The majority of peoples should, through their freely chosen representatives, control all fundamental economic, political, and social policies, and they should do so on a planetary scale. This is the supreme goal of education for the current decades. As long as our schools avoid recognition of this purpose; as long as teachers and professors skirt the subject because it is controversial; as long as educational theoriests say, 'Oh, no, we must be concerned with training mental faculties,' or 'We must support the power struggle to glorious victory for our side,' then they are, in my judgment, denying a central purpose of education. To find a way to enlist and unite the majority of peoples of all races, religions, and nationalities into a great democratic world body with power and authority to enforce its policies—what greater mandate to us in the profession of education can be imagined than this?"

which the individual may realize himself in society, it overlooks the degree to which society makes him what he is. Since civilized life by and large is group life, groups should play an important part in the school. "We should recognize groups for what they are," writes Brameld, "We should neither cynically condemn them nor passively accept their behavior as inevitable, but through sound diagnosis aim to build a social and educational program that will help resolve their longings, reduce their immoralities, and release their humane potentialities."[28] Thus education becomes "social self-realization"; through it the individual not only develops the social side of his nature but also learns how to participate in social planning.

4. The teacher must convince his pupils of the validity and urgency of the reconstructionist solution, but he must do so with scrupulous regard for democratic procedures. Under what Brameld calls the principle of "defensible partiality," the teacher allows open examination of the evidence both for and against his views; he presents alternative solutions fairly; and he permits his pupils to defend their own ideas. Moreover, since all of us have convictions and partialities, we should not only express and defend them publicly but also "work for their acceptance by the largest possible majority."

5. The means and ends of education must be completely refashioned to meet the demands of the present cultural crisis and to accord with the findings of the behavioral sciences. The importance of the behavioral sciences is that they enable us to discover those values in which men most strongly believe, whether or not these values are universal. Thus, Brameld declares,

> ...the behavioral sciences are beginning to prove, really for the first time in history, that it is possible to formulate human goals not for sentimental, romantic, mystical, or similarly arbitrary reasons, but on the basis of what we are learning about cross-cultural and even universal values. Though studies in this difficult field have moved only a little way, they have moved far enough so that it is already becoming plausible both to describe these values objectively and to demonstrate that most human beings prefer them to alternative values.[29]

We must look afresh at the way in which our curricula are drawn up, the subjects they contain, the methods that are used, the structure of administration, and the ways in which teachers are trained. These must then be reconstructed in accordance with a unified theory of human nature, rationally and scientifically derived. It follows that we must construct a curriculum whose subjects and subdivisions are related integrally rather than treated as a sequence of knowledge components:

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[28] Theodore Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy, World Book, Yonkers, N. Y., 1950, p. 425.

[29] Theodore Brameld, "Imperatives for a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education," School and Society, LXXXVII (January 17, 1959), 20.

> A theory of unified man, both derived from and contributing to our experimental knowledge of human behavior in its multiple perspectives, not only should integrate all other fields of knowledge; it should provide them with a fresh and potent significance.[30]

Critique of Reconstructionism

Reconstructionism is stirringly expressed. Its appeal is all the more compelling because it claims to be based on reliable findings in the behavioral sciences. Such a claim, if true, would be difficult to counter. Unfortunately it is vitiated by the fact that these findings permit a variety of interpretations, of which Brameld's is only one. As has already been pointed out and as Brameld himself admits, the established empirical conclusions of the behavioral sciences are scant indeed, and they carry no certain implications for education. There are, in addition, as many disagreements among behavioral scientists as there are among educators—and those, surely, are enough. What one sociologist or economist holds to be true is easily refuted by another; and psychologists do not agree about the kinds of behavior that are basic to a planned society. Science has yet to answer such questions as: What are the best values for men to accept? What social institutions best aid their realization? The boast of reconstructionsim—that it is based on reliable scientific knowledge of human behavior—connot be sustained.

Whether reconstructionism is as squarely in the mainstream of the American cultural tradition as its supporters claim is likewise open to doubt. Actually, liberal individualism is just as much a part of our tradition as is the commitment to democratically determined social ideals. It is difficult, indeed, to envisage a democracy as pluralist as the United States coming to any agreement on the far-reaching changes suggested by reconstructionists. It is one thing to vote yes or no for a political candidate or a bond issue but quite another to do so on the issues of education, affected, as they are, by a host of moral, religious, esthetic, and social—not to mention personal—considerations. How could the many competing interests in American society find a national educational system that pleased them all?

Perhaps the kind of permissive indoctrination that Brameld advocates is really a contradiction in terms. Reconstructionism as a doctrine demands commitment; a reconstructionist teacher cannot teach the doctrine without being committed to it himself and without hoping to commit his students also. However hard he may try to attain detachment in the classroom, he cannot, in the nature of things, be both scientifically detached and ideologically involved. Inasmuch as our society is deeply divided over social values, nothing less than capitulation to a totalitarian movement is ever likely to unite it. Our entire political structure would have to change, and individual enterprise would be severely enfeebled. In my view, reconstructionism seems to lead to a collectivist society, in which men would believe anything to be true provided it was attained by scientific methods and achieved through informed social consensus when persuasively presented.

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[30] Ibid.

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For recent publications on contemporary educational theories, see Frederick C. Neff, *Philosophy and American Education* (The Center for Applied Research in Education, New York, 1966, 168 pp.); and G. Max Wingo, *The Philosophy of American Education* (D. C. Heath, 1965, 438 pp.). These two volumes use the "schools of philosophy" approach. John P. Wynne's *Theories of Education* (Harper and Row, 1963, 521 pp.) is an imposing study of educational theory in all its historical, philosophic, social, and scientific dimensions. (Wynne says it took him thirty years to write the book, and I can believe it.) Of the many anthologies available, I will mention three: Joe Park, Ed., *Selected Readings in the Philosophy of Education* (Macmillan, 1968, 433 pp.); John Martin Rich, Ed., *Readings in the Philosophy of Education* (Wadsworth, 1966, 393 pp.); and Van Cleve Morris, Ed., *Modern Movements in Educational Philosophy* (Houghton Mifflin, 1969, 381 pp.). Like Wingo and Neff, Park structures his text according to schools of philosophy, whereas Rich and Morris use a topical or problems approach. Although Rich includes valuable discussion questions, his book suffers from the absence of biographies and an index.

FREEDOM AND THE CONTROL OF MEN

by
B.F. Skinner

The second half of the twentieth century may be remembered for its solution of a curious problem. Although Western democracy created the conditions responsible for the rise of modern science, it is now evident that it may never fully profit from that achievement. The so-called "democratic philosophy" of human behavior to which it also gave rise is increasingly in conflict with the application of the methods of science to human affairs. Unless this conflict is somehow resolved, the ultimate goals of democracy may be long deferred.

Just as biographers and critics look for external influences to account for the traits and achievements of the men they study, so science ultimately explains behavior in terms of "causes" or conditions which lie beyond the individual himself. As more and more casual relations are demonstrated, a practical corollary becomes difficult to resist; it should be possible to produce behavior according to plan simply by arranging the proper conditions. Now, among the specifications which might reasonably be submitted to a behavioral technology are these: Let men be happy, informed, skillful, well behaved and productive.

This immediate practical implication of a science of behavior has a familiar ring, for it recalls the doctrine of human perfectibility of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century humanism. A science of man shares the optimism of that philosophy and supplies striking support for the working faith that men can build a better world and, through it, better men. The support comes just in time, for there has been little optimism of late among those who speak from the traditional point of view. Democracy has become "realistic," and it is only with some embarrassment that one admits today to perfectionistic or utopian thinking.

The earlier temper is worth considering, however. History records many foolish and unworkable schemes for human betterment, but almost all the great changes in our culture which we now regard as worthwhile can be traced to perfectionistic philosophies. Governmental, religious, educational, economic and social reforms follow a common pattern. Someone believes that a change in a cultural practice--for example, in the rules of evidence in a court of law, in the characterization of man's relation to God, in the way children are taught to read and write, in permitted rates of interest, or in minimal housing standards--will improve the condition of men by promoting justice, permitting men to seek salvation more effectively, increasing the literacy of a people, checking an inflationary trend, or improving public health and family relations, respectively. The underlying hypothesis is always the same: that a different physical or cultural environment will make a different and better man.

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The scientific study of behavior not only justifies the general pattern of such proposals; it promises new and better hypotheses. The earliest cultural practices must have originated in sheer accidents. Those which strengthened the group survived with the group in a sort of natural selection. As soon as men began to propose and carry out changes in practice for the sake of possible consequences, the evolutionary process must have accelerated. The simple practice of making changes must have had survival value. A further acceleration is now to be expected. As laws of behavior are more precisely stated, the changes in the environment required to bring about a given effect may be more clearly specified. Conditions which have been neglected because their effects were slight or unlooked for may be shown to be relevant. New conditions may actually be created, as in the discovery and synthesis of drugs which affect behavior.

This is no time, then, to abandon notions of progress, improvement or, indeed, human perfectibility. The simple fact is that man is able, and now as never before, to lift himself by his own bootstraps. In achieving control of the world of which he is part, he may learn at least to control himself.

Timeworn objections to the planned improvement of cultural practices are already losing much of their force. Marcus Aurelius was probably right in advising his readers to be content with a haphazard amelioration of mankind. "Never hope to realize Plato's republic," he sighed. "...for who can change the opinions of men? And without a change of sentiments what can you make but reluctant slaves and hypocrites?" He was thinking, no doubt, of contemporary patterns of control based upon punishment or the threat of punishment which, as he correctly observed, breed only reluctant slaves of those who submit and hypocrites of those who discover modes of evasion. But we need not share his pessimism, for the opinions of men can be changed. The techniques of indoctrination which were being devised by the early Christian Church at the very time Marcus Aurelius was writing are relevant, as are some of the techniques of psychotherapy and of advertising and public relations. Other methods suggested by recent scientific analysis leave little doubt of the matter.

The study of human behavior also answers the cynical complaint that there is a plain "cussedness" in man which will always thwart efforts to improve him. We are often told that men do not want to be changed, even for the better. Try to help them, and they will outwit you and remain happily wretched. Dostoevsky claimed to see some plan in it. "Out of sheer ingratitude," he complained, or possibly boasted, "man will play you a dirty trick, just to prove that men are still men and not the keys of a piano....And even if you could prove that a man is only a piano key, he would still do something out of sheer perversity--he would create destruction and chaos--just to gain his point....And if all this could in turn be analyzed and prevented by predicting that it would occur, then man would deliberately go mad to prove his point." This is a conceivable neurotic reaction to inept control. A few men may have shown it, and many have enjoyed Dostoevsky's statement because they tend to show it. But that such perversity is a fundamental reaction of the human organism to controlling conditions is sheer nonsense.

So is the objection that we have no way of knowing what changes to make even though we have the necessary techniques. That is one of the great hoaxes of the century--a sort of booby trap left behind in the retreat before the advancing front of science. Scientists themselves have unsuspectingly agreed that there are two kinds of useful propositions about nature--facts and value judgments--and the science must confine itself to "what is," leaving "what ought to be" to others. But with what special sort of wisdom is the non-scientist endowed? Science is only effective knowing, no matter who engages in it. Verbal behavior proves upon analysis to be composed of many different types of utterances, from poetry and exhortation to logic and factual description, but these are not all equally useful in talking about cultural practices. We may classify useful propositions according to the degrees of confidence with which they may be asserted. Sentences about nature range from highly probable "facts" to sheer guesses. In general, future events are less likely to be correctly described than past. When a scientist talks about a projected experiment, for example, he must often resort to statements having only a moderate likelihood of being correct; he calls them hypotheses.

Designing a new cultural pattern is in many ways like designing an experiment. In drawing up a new constitution, outlining a new educational program, modifying a religious doctrine, or setting up a new fiscal policy, many statements must be quite tentative. We cannot be sure that the practice we specify will have the consequences we predict, or that the consequences will reward our efforts. This is in the nature of such proposals. They are not value judgments--they are guesses. To confuse and delay the improvement of cultural practices by quibbling about the word improve is itself not a useful practice. Let us agree, to start with, that health is better than illness, wisdom better than ignorance, love better than hate, and productive energy better than neurotic sloth.

Another familiar objection is the "political problem." Though we know what changes to make and how to make them, we still need to control certain relevant conditions, but these have long since fallen into the hands of selfish men who are not going to relinquish them for such purposes. Possibly we shall be permitted to develop areas which at the moment seem unimportant, but at the first signs of sucess the strong men will move in. This, it is said, has happened to Christianity, democracy and communism. There will always be men who are fundamentally selfish and evil, and in the long run innocent goodness cannot have its way. The only evidence here is historical, and it may be misleading. Because of the way in which physical science developed, history could until very recently have "proved" that the unleashing of the energy of the atom was quite unlikely, if notimpossible. Similarly, because of the order in which processes in human behavior have become available for purposes of control, history may seem to prove that power will probably be appropriated for selfish purposes. The first technique to be discovered fell almost always to strong, selfish men. History led Lord Acton to believe that power corrupts, but he had probably never encountered absolute power, certainly not in all its forms, and had no way of predicting its effect.

An optimistic historian could defend a different conclusion. The principle that if there are not enough men of good will in the world the first step is to create more seems to be gaining recognition. The Marshall Plan (as originally conceived), Point Four, the offer of atomic materials to power-starved countries--these may or may not be wholly new in the history of international relations, but they suggest an increasing awareness of the power of governmental good will. They are proposals to make certain changes in the environments of men for the sake of consequences which should be rewarding for all concerned. They do not exemplify a disinterested generosity, but an interest which is the interest of everyone. We have not yet seen Plato's philosopher-king, and may not want to, but the gap between real and utopian government is closing.

But we are not yet in the clear, for a new and unexpected obstacle has arisen. With a world of their own making almost within reach, men of good will have been seized with distaste for the achievement. They have uneasily rejected opportunities to apply the techniques and findings of science in the service of men, and as the import of effective cultural design has come to be understood, many of them have voiced an outright refusal to have any part in it. Science has been challenged before when it has encroached upon institutions already engaged in the control of human behavior; but what are we to make of benevolent men, with no special interests of their own to defend, who nevertheless turn against the very means of reaching long-dreamed-of goals?

What is being rejected, of course, is the scientific conception of man and his place in nature. So long as the findings and methods of science are applied to human affairs only in a sort of remedial patchwork, we may continue to hold any view of human nature we like. But as the use of science increases, we are forced to accept the theoretical structure with which science represents its facts. The difficulty is that this structure is clearly at odds with the traditional democratic conception of man. Every discovery of an event which has a part in shaping a man's behavior seems to leave so much the less to be credited to the man himself; and as such explanations become more and more comprehensive, the contributions which may be claimed by the individual himself appears to approach zero. Man's vaunted creative powers, his original accomplish ments in art, science and morals, his capacity to choose and our right to hold him responsible for the consequences of his choice--none of these is conspicuous in this new self-portrait. Man, we once believed, was free to express himself in art, music and literature, to inquire into nature, to seek salvation in his own way. He could initiate action and make spontaneous and capricious changes of course. Under the most extreme duress some sort of choice remained to him. He could resist any effort to control him, though it might cost him his life. But science insists that action is initiated by forces impinging upon the individual, and that caprice is only another name for behavior for which we have not yet found a cause.

In attempting to reconcile these views it is important to note that the traditional democratic conception was not designed as a description in the scientific sense but as a philosophy to be used in setting up and maintaining a governmental process. It arose under historical circumstances and served political purposes apart from which it cannot be properly understood. In rallying men against tyranny it was necessary that the individual be strengthened, that he be taught that he had rights and could govern himself. To give the common man a new conception of his worth, his dignity, and his power to save himself, both here and hereafter, was often the only resource of the revolutionist. When democratic principles were put into practice, the same doctrines were used as a working formula. This is exemplified by the notion of personal responsibility in Anglo-American law. All governments make certain forms of punishment contingent upon certain kinds of acts. In democratic countries these contingencies are expressed by the notion of responsible choice. But the notion may have no meaning under governmental practices formulated in other ways and would certainly have no place in systems which did not use punishment.

The democratic philosophy of human nature is determined by certain political exigencies and techniques, not by the goals of democracy. But exigencies and techniques change; and a conception which is not supported for its accuracy as a likeness -- is not, indeed, rooted in fact at all -- may be expected to change too. No matter how effective we judge current democratic practices to be, how highly we value them or how long we expect them to survive, they are almost certainly not the final form of government. The philosophy of human nature which has been useful in implementing them is also almost certainly not the last word. The ultimate achievement of democracy may be long deferred unless we emphasize the real aims rather than the verbal devices of democratic thinking. A philosophy which has been appropriate to one set of political exigencies will defeat its purpose if, under other circumstances, it prevents us from applying to human affairs the science of man which probably nothing but democracy itself could have produced.

Perhaps the most crucial part of our democratic philosophy to be reconsidered is our attitude toward freedom -- or its reciprocal, the control of human behavior. We do not oppose all forms of control because it is "human nature" to do so. The reaction is not characteristic of all men under all conditions of life. It is an attitude which has been carefully engineered, in large part by what we call the "literature" of democracy. With respect to some methods of control (for example, the threat of force), very little engineering is needed, for the techniques or their immediate consequences are objectionable. Society has suppressed these methods by branding them "wrong," "illegal" or "sinful." But to encourage these attitudes toward objectionable forms of control, it has been necessary to disguise the real nature of certain indispensable techniques, the commonest examples of which are education, moral discourse, and persuasion. The actual procedures appear harmless enough. They consist of supplying information, presenting opportunities for action, pointing out logical relationships, appealing to reason or "enlightened understanding," and so on. Through a masterful piece of misrepresentation, the illusion is fostered that these procedures do not involve the control of behavior; at most, they are simply ways of "getting someone to change his mind." But analysis not only reveals the presence of well-defined behavioral processes, it demonstrates a kind of control no less inexorable, though in some ways more acceptable, than the bully's threat of force.

Let us suppose that someone in whom we are interested is acting unwisely -- he is careless in the way he deals with his friends, he drives too fast, or he holds his golf club the wrong way. We could probably help him by issuing a series of commands: don't nag, don't drive over sixty, don't hold your club that way. Much less objectionable would be "an appeal to reason." We could show him how people are affected by his treatment of them, how accident rates rise sharply at higher speeds, how a particular grip on the club alters the way the ball is struck and corrects a slice. In doing so we resort to verbal mediating devices which emphasize and support certain "contingencies of reinforcement" -- that is, certain relations between behavior and its consequences -- which strengthen the behavior we wish to set up. The same consequences would possibly set up the behavior without our help, and they eventually take control no matter which form of help we give. The appeal to reason has certain advantages over the authoritative command. A threat of punishment, no matter how subtle, generates emotional reactions and tendencies to escape or revolt. Perhaps the controllee merely "feels resentment" at being made to act in a given way, but even that is to be avoided. When we "appeal to reason," he "feels freer to do as he pleases." The fact is that we have exerted *less* control than in using a threat; since other conditions may contribute to the result, the effect may be delayed or, possibly in a given instance, lacking. But if we have worked a change in his behavior at all, it is because we have altered relevant environmental conditions, and the processes we have set in motion are just as real as inexorable, if not as comprehensive, as in the most authoritative coercion.

"Arranging an opportunity for action" is another example of disguised control. The power of the negative form has already been exposed in the analysis of censorship. Restriction of opportunity is recognized as far from harmless. As Ralph Barton Perry said in an article which appeared in the Spring, 1953, *Pacific Spectator*, "Whoever determines what alternatives shall be made known to man controls what the man shall choose *from*. He is deprived of freedom in proportion as he is denied access to *any* ideas, or is confined to any range of ideas short of the totality of relevant possibilities." But there is a positive side as well. When we present a relevant state of affairs, we increase the likelihood that a given form of behavior will be emitted. To the extent that the probability of action has changed, we have made a definite contribution. The teacher of history controls a student's behavior (or, if the reader prefers, "deprives him of freedom") just as much in *presenting* historical facts as in suppressing them. Other conditions will no doubt affect the student, but the contribution made to his behavior by the presentation of material is fixed and, within its range, irresistible.

The methods of education, moral discourse and persuasion are acceptable not because they recognize the freedom of the individual or his right to dissent, but because they make only *partial* contributions to the control of his behavior. The freedom they recognize is freedom from a more coercive form of control. The dissent which they tolerate is the possible effect of other determiners of action. Since these sanctioned methods are frequently ineffective, we have been able to convince ourselves that they do not represent control at all. When they show too much strength to permit disguise, we give them other names and suppress them as energetically as we suppress the use of force. Education grown too powerful is rejected as propaganda or "brain-washing," while really effective persuasion is decried as "undue influence," demagoguery," "seduction," and so on.

If we are not to rely solely upon accident for the innovations which give rise to cultural evolution, we must accept the fact that some kind of control of human behavior is inevitable. We cannot use good sense in human affairs unless someone engages in the design and construction of environmental conditions which affect the behavior of men. Environmental changes have always been the condition for the improvement of cultural patterns, and we can hardly use the more effective methods of science without making changes on a grander scale. We are all controlled by the world in which we live, and part of that world has been and will be constructed by man. The question is this: Are we to be controlled by accident, by tyrants, or by ourselves in effective cultural design?

The danger of the misuse of power is possibly greater than ever.

It is not allayed by disguising the facts. We cannot make wise decisions if we continue to pretend that human behavior is not controlled, or if we refuse to engage in control when valuable results might be forthcoming. Such measures weaken only ourselves, leaving the strength of science to others. The first step in a defense against tyranny is the fullest possible exposure of controlling techniques. A second step has already been taken successfully in restricting the use of physical force. Slowly, and as yet imperfectly we have worked out an ethical and governmental design in which the strong man is not allowed to use the power deriving from his strength to control his fellow men. He is restrained by a superior force created for that purpose -- the ethical pressure of the group, or more explicit religious and governmental measures. We tend to distrust superior forces, as we currently hesitate to relinquish sovereignty in order to set up an international police force. But it is only through such counter-control that we have achieved what we call peace -- a condition in which men are not permitted to control each other through force. In other words, control itself must be controlled.

Science has turned up dangerous processes and materials before. To use the facts and techniques of a science of man to the fullest extent without making some monstrous mistake will be difficult and obviously perilous. It is no time for self-deception, emotional indulgence, or the assumption of attitudes which are no longer useful. Man is facing a difficult test. He must keep his head now, or he must start again -- a long way back.

Those who reject the scientific conception of man must, to be logical, oppose the methods of science as well. The position is often supported by predicting a series of dire consequences which are to follow if science is not checked. A recent book by Joseph Wood Krutch, The Measure of Man, is in this vein. Mr. Krutch sees in the growing science of man the threat of an unexampled tyranny over men's minds. If science is permitted to have its way, he insists, "we may never be able really to think again." A controlled culture will, for example, lack some virtue inherent in disorder. We have emerged from chaos through a series of happy accidents, but in an engineered culture it will be "impossible for the unplanned to erupt again." But there is no virtue in the accidental character of an accident, and the diversity which arises from disorder can not only be duplicated by design but vastly extended. The experimental is superior to simple observation just because it multiplies "accident" in a systematic coverage of the possibilities. Technology offers many familiar examples. We no longer wait for immunity to disease to develop from a series of accidental exposures, nor do we wait for natural mutations in sheep and cotton to produce better fibers; but we continue to make use of such accidents which occur, and we certainly do not prevent them. Many of the things we value have emerged from the clash of ignorant armies on darkling plains, but it is not therefore wise to encourage ignorance and darkness.

It is not always disorder itself which we are told we shall miss but certain admirable qualities in men which flourish only in the presence of disorder. A man rises above an unpropitious childhood to a position of eminence, and since we cannot give a plausible account of the action of so complex an environment, we attribute the achievement to some admirable faculty in the man himself. But such "faculties" are suspiciously like the explanatory fictions against which the history of science warns us. We admire Lincoln for rising above a deficient school system, but it was not necessarily something in him which permitted him to become an educated man in spite of it. His educational environment was certainly unplanned, but it could nevertheless have made a full contribution to his mature behavior. He was a rare man, but the circumstances of his childhood were rare too. We do not give Franklin Delano Roosevelt the same credit for becoming an educated man with the help of Groton and Harvard, although the same behavioral processes may have been involved. The founding of Groton and Harvard somewhat reduced the possibility that fortuitous combinations of circumstances would erupt to produce other Lincolns. Yet the founders can hardly be condemned for attacking an admirable human quality.

Another predicted consequence of a science of man is an excessive uniformity. We are told that effective control -- whether governmental, religious, educational, economic or social -- will produce a race of men who differ from each other only through a relatively refractory genetic difference. That would probably be bad design, but we must admit that we are not now pursuing another course from choice. In a modern school, for example, there is usually a syllabus which specifies what every student is to learn by the end of each year. This would be flagrant regimentation if anyone expected every student to comply. But some will be poor in particular subjects, others will not study, others will not remember what they have been taught, and diversity is assured. Suppose, however, that we someday possess such effective educational techniques that every student will in fact be put in possession of all the behavior specified in a syllabus.

At the end of the year, all students will correctly answer all questions on the final examination and "must all have prizes." Should we reject such a system on the grounds that in making all students excellent it has made them all alike? Advocates of the theory of a special faculty might contend that an important advantage of the present system is that the good student learns in spite of a system which is so defective that it is currently producing bad students as well. But if really effective techniques are available, we cannot avoid the problem of design simply by preferring the status quo. At what point should education be deliberately inefficient?

Such predictions of the havoc to be wreaked by the application of science to human affairs are usually made with surprising confidence. They not only show a faith in the orderliness of human behavior; they presuppose an established body of knowledge with the help of which it can be positively asserted that the changes which scientists propose to make will have quite specific results -- albeit not the results they foresee. But the predictions made by the critics of science must be held to be equally fallible and subject also to empirical test. We may be sure that many steps in the scientific design of cultural patterns will produce unforeseen consequences. But there is only one way to find out. And the test must be made, for if we cannot advance in the design of cultural patterns with absolute certainty, neither can we rest completely confident of the superiority of the status quo.

Apart from their possibly objectionable consequences, scientific methods seem to make no provision for certain admirable qualities and faculties which seem to have flourished in less explicitly planned cultures; hence they are called "degrading" or "lacking in dignity." (Mr.

Krutch has called the author's Walden Two an "ignoble Utopia.") The conditioned reflex is the current whipping boy. Because conditioned reflexes may be demonstrated in animals, they are spoken of as though they were exclusively subhuman. It is implied, as we have seen, that no behavioral processes are involved in education and moral discourse or, at least, that the processes are exclusively human. But men do show conditioned reflexes (for example, when they are frightened by all instances of the control of human behavior because some instances engender fear), and animals do show processes similar to the human behavior involved in instruction and moral discourse. When Mr. Krutch asserts that " 'Conditioning' is achieved by methods which bypass or, as it were, short-circuit those very reasoning faculties which education proposes to cultivate and exercise," he is making a technical statement which needs a definition of terms and a great deal of supporting evidence.

If such methods are called "ignoble" simply because they leave no room for certain admirable attributes, then perhaps the practice of admiration needs to be examined. We might say that the child whose education has been skillfully planned has been deprived of the right to intellectual heroism. Nothing has been left to be admired in the way he acquires an education. Similarly, we can conceive of moral training which is so adequate to the demands of the culture that men will be good practically automatically, but to that extent they will be deprived of the right to moral heroism, since we seldom admire automatic goodness. Yet if we consider the end of morals rather than certain virtuous means, is not "automatic goodness" a desirable state of affairs? Is it not, for example, the avowed goal of religious education; T H. Huxley answered the question unambiguously: "If some great power would agree to make me always think what is true and do what is right, on condition of being a sort of clock and wound up every morning before I got out of bed, I should close instantly with the offer." Yet Mr. Krutch quotes this as the scarcely credible point of view of a "protomodern" and seems himself to share T.S. Eliot's contempt for "...systems so perfect/That no one will need to be good."

"Having to be good" is an excellent example of an expendable honorific. It is inseparable from a particular form of ethical and moral control. We distinguish between the things we have to do to avoid punishment and those we want to do for rewarding consequences. In a culture which did not resort to punishment we should never "have" to do anything except with respect to the punishing contingencies which arise directly in the physical environment. And we are moving toward such a culture, because the neurotic, not to say psychotic, by-products of control through punishment have long since led compassionate men to seek alternative techniques. Recent research has explained some of the objectionable results of punishment and has revealed resources of at least equal power in "positive reinforcement." It is reasonable to look forward to a time when man will seldom "have" to do anything, although he may show interest, energy, imagination and productivity far beyond the level seen under the present system (except for rare eruptions of the unplanned).

What we have to do we do with effort. We call it "work." There is no other way to distinguish between exhausting labor and the possibly equally energetic but rewarding activity of play. It is presumably good cultural design to replace the former with the latter. But an adjustment in attitudes is needed. We are much more practiced in admiring the heroic labor of a Hercules than the activity of one who works without having to. In a truly effective educational system the student might not "have to work" at all, but that possibility is likely to be received by the contemporary teacher with an emotion little short of rage.

We cannot reconcile traditional and scientific views by agreeing upon what is to be admired or condemned. The question is whether anything is to be so treated. Praise and blame are cultural practices which have been adjuncts of the prevailing system of control in Western democracy. All peoples do not engage in them for the same purposes or to the same extent, nor, of course, are the same behaviors always classified in the same way as subject to praise or blame. In admiring intellectual and moral heroism and unrewarding labor, and in rejecting a world in which these would be uncommon, we are simply demonstrating our own cultural conditioning. By promoting certain tendencies to admire and censure, the group of which we are a part has arranged for the social reinforcement and punishment needed to assure a high level of intellectual and normal industry. Under other and possibly better controlling systems, the behavior which we now admire would occur, but not under those conditions which make it admirable, and we should have no reason to admire it because the culture would have arranged for its maintenance in other ways.

To those who are stimulated by the glamorous heroism of the battlefield, a peaceful world may not be a better world. Others may reject a world without sorrow, longing or a sense of guilt because the relevance of deeply moving works of art would be lost. To many who have devoted their lives to the struggle to be wise and good, a world without confusion and evil might be an empty thing. A nostalgic concern for the decline of moral heroism has been a dominating theme in the work of Aldous Huxley. In Brave New World he could see in the application of science to human affairs only a travesty on the notion of the Good (just as George Orwell, in 1984, could foresee nothing but horror). In a recent issue of Esquire, Huxley has expressed the point this way: "We have had religious revolutions, we have had political, industrial, economic and nationalistic revolutions. All of them, as our descendants will discover, were but ripples in an ocean of conservatism -- trivial by comparison with the psychological revolution toward which we are so rapidly moving. That will really be a revolution. When it is over, the human race will give no further trouble." (Footnote for the reader of the future: This was not meant as a happy ending. Up to 1956 men had been admired, if at all, either for causing trouble or alleviating it. Therefore --)

It will be a long time before the world can dispense with heroes and hence with the cultural practice of admiring heroism, but we move in that direction whenever we act to prevent war, famine, pestilence and disaster. It will be a long time before man will never need to submit to punishing environments or engage in exhausting labor, but we move in that direction whenever we make food, shelter, clothing and labor-saving devices more readily available. We may mourn the passing of heroes but not the conditions which make for heroism. We can spare the self-made saint or sage as we spare the laundress on the river's bank struggling against fearful odds to achieve cleanliness.

The two great dangers in modern democratic thinking are illustrated in a paper by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. "For a long time now," writes Mr. Acheson, "We have gone along with some well-tested principles of conduct: That it was better to tell the truth than falsehoods; ...that duties were older than and as fundamental as rights; as Justice Holmes put it, the mode by which the inevitable came to pass was effort; that to perpetrate a harm was wrong no matter how many joined in it...and so on...Our institutions are founded on the assumption that most people follow these principles most of the time because they want to, and the institutions work pretty well when this assumption is true. More recently, however, bright people have been fooling with the machinery in the human head and they discovered quite a lot...Hitler introduced new refinements (as the result of which) a whole people have been utterly confused and corrupted. Unhappily neither the possession of this knowledge nor the desire to use it was confined to Hitler....Others dip from this same devil's cauldron."

The first dangerous notion in this passage is that most people follow democratic principles of conduct "because they want to." This does not account for democracy or any other form of government if we have not explained why people want to behave in given ways. Although it is tempting to assume that it is human nature to believe in democratic principles, we must not overlook the "cultural engineering" which produced and continues to maintain democratic practices. If we neglect the conditions which produce democratic behavior, it is useless to try to maintain a democratic form of government. And we cannot expect to export a democratic form of government successfully if we do not also provide for the cultural practices which will sustain it. Our forebearers did not discover the essential nature of man; they evolved a pattern of behavior which worked remarkably well under the circumstances. The "set of principles" expressed in that pattern is not the only true set or necessarily the best. Mr. Acheson has presumably listed the most unassailable items; some of them are probably beyond question, but others -- concerning duty and effort -- may need revision as the world changes.

The second -- and greater -- threat to the democracy which Mr. Acheson is defending is his assumption that knowledge is necessarily on the side of evil. All the admirable things he mentions are attributed to the innate goodness of man, all the detestable to "fooling with the machinery in the human head." This is reminiscent of the position, taken by other institutions engaged in the control of men, that certain forms of knowledge are in themselves evil. But how out of place in a democratic philosophy! Have we come this far only to conclude that well-intentioned people cannot study the behavior of men without becoming tyrants or that informed men cannot show good will? Let us for once have strength and good will on the same side.

Far from being a threat to the tradition of Western democracy, the growth of a science of man is a consistent and probably inevitable part of it. In turning to the external conditions which shape and maintain the behavior of men, while questioning the reality of inner qualities and faculties to which human achievements were once attributed, we turn from the ill-defined and remote to the observable and manipulable. Though it is a painful step, it has far-reaching consequences, for it not only sets higher standards of human welfare but shows us how to meet them. A change in a theory of human nature cannot change the facts. The achievements of man in science, art literature, music and morals will survive any interpretation we place upon them. The uniqueness of the individual is unchallenged in the scientific view. Man, in short, will remain man. (There will be much to admire for those who are so inclined. Possibly the noblest achievement to which man can aspire, even according to present standards, is to accept himself for what he is, as that is revealed to him by the methods which he devised and tested on a part of the world in which he had only a small personal stake.)

If Western democracy does not lose sight of the aims of humanitarian action, it will welcome almost fabulous support of its own science of man and will strengthen itself and play an important role in building a better world for everyone. But if it cannot put its "democratic philosophy" into proper historical perspective -- if, under the control of attitudes and emotions which it generated for other purposes, it now rejects the help of science -- then it must be prepared for defeat. For if we continue to insist that science has nothing to offer but a new and more horrible form of tyranny, we may produce just such a result by allowing the strength of science to fall in the hands of despots. And if, with luck, it were to fall instead to men of good will in other political communities, it would be perhaps a more ingnominious humiliating defeat; for we should then, through a miscarriage of democratic principles, be forced to leave to others the next step in man's long struggle to control nature and himself.

JOHN DEWEY AND THE PROGRESSIVE-EDUCATION MOVEMENT, 1915-1952

by
Lawrence A. Cremin

John Dewey had a story -- it must have been a favorite of his -- about "a man who was somewhat sensitive to the movements of things about him. He had a certain appreciation of what things were passing away and dying and of what things were being born and growing. And on the strength of that response he foretold some of the things that were going to happen in the future. When he was seventy years old the people gave him a birthday party and they gave him credit for bringing to pass the things he had foreseen might come to pass."[1] With characteristic modesty, Dewey told the story autobiographically, using it to describe his own place in the history of American life and thought. And granted the genuinely seminal character of his contribution, there was a measure of truth to his disclaimer.

Consider, for example, Dewey's relation to the early progressive-education movement; it provides an excellent case in point. We know that the movement arose during the 1890's as a many-sided protest against pedagogical narrowness and inequity. It was essentially pluralistic, often self-contradictory, and always related to broader currents of social and political progressivism. In the univerisities it appeared as part of a spirited revolt against formalism in philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences. In the cities it emerged as one facet of a larger program of social alleviation and municipal reform. Among farmers, it became the crux of a moderate, liberal alternative to radical agrarianism.

It was at the same time the "social education" demanded by urban settlement workers, the "schooling for country life" demanded by rural publicists, the vocational training demanded by businessmen's associations and labor unions alike, and the new techniques of instruction demanded by avant garde pedagogues. Like progressivism writ large, it compounded a fascinating congeries of seemingly disparate elements: the romanticism of G. Stanley Hall and the realism of Jacob Riis, the scientism of Joseph Mayer Rice and the reformism of Jane Addams. Its keynote was diversity, of protest, of protestor, of proposel, and of proponent; it was a diversity destined to leave its ineradicable mark on a half-century of educational reform.[2]

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[1] John Dewey: The Man and His Philosophy (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 174.

[2] See my essay "The Progressive Movement in American Education: A Reappraisal," Harvard Educational Review, XXVII (Fall 1957), 251-270.

There were, needless to say, numerous attempts to portray this remarkable movement in its early decades; but nowhere is its extraordinary diversity more intelligently documented than in Dewey's volume Schools of To-Morrow, published in 1915 in collaboration with his daughter Evelyn.[3] Over the years, Dewey's continuing interest in pedagogical theory, his widely publicized work at the Laboratory School he and Mrs. Dewey had founded in 1896, his reputation as a tough-minded analyst of pedagogical schemes, and his unfailing support of progressive causes had combined to make increasingly an acknowledged spokesman of the progressive-education movement. Schools of To-Morrow did much to secure this image of him in the public mind. Within ten years the book had gone through fourteen printings, unusual for any book, unheard-of for a book about education.

Written neither as a textbook nor as dogmatic exposition of "the new," the volume is designed "to show what actually happens when schools start out to put into practice, each in its own way, some of the theories that have been pointed to as the soundest and best ever since Plato" [3: "Preface"]. More than anything, the Dewey of Schools of To-Morrow is the man "sensitive to the movement of things about him." The reader is treated to a fascinating collection of glimpses -- into Marietta Johnson's Organic School at Fairhope, Alabama, Junius Meriam's experimental school at the University of Missouri, the Francis Parker School in Chicago. Caroline Pratt's Play School in New York, the Kindergarten at Teachers College, Columbia University, and certain public schools of Gary, Chicago, and Indianapolis. In each instance, the guiding educational theory is given and the techniques by which the theory is put into practice are described. The approach is essentially journalistic; Dewey's enterprise is to elucidate rather than to praise or criticize.

Yet there is a very special kind of reporting here, one that bears closer examination. Richard Hofstadter has observed that the Progressive mind was typically a journalistic mind, and that its characteristic contribution was that of a socially responsible reporter-reformer.[4] Certainly this was Dewey's central contribution in Schools of To-Morrow. For in addition to the who, the what, the when, and the where, Dewey gives us a succession of social whys that quickly transform a seemingly unrelated agglomeration of pedagogical experiments into several facets of a genuine social movement.

Merely as a record of what progressive education actually was and what it meant to Dewey *circa* 1915, the book is invaluable. The text abounds in vivid discriptions of the physical education, the nature studies, the manual work, the industrial training, and the innumerable "socialized activities" in the schools of tomorrow. There is exciting talk of more freedom for children, of greater attention to individual growth and development, of a new unity between education and life, of a more meaningful school curriculum, of a vast democratizing of culture and learning. Nowhere is the faith and optimism of the progressive-education movement more dramatically conveyed.

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[3] John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey, Schools of To-Morrow (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1915).

[4] Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 185.

Moreover, as the analysis proceeds, Dewey's powers as a "socially responsible reporter-reformer" are soon apparent. He points enthusiastically to the concern with initiative, originality, and resourcefulness in the new pedagogy, deeming these qualities central to the life of a free society. He commends the breadth of the new school programs, their attention to health, citzenship, and vocation, arguing that such breadth is not only a necessary adaptation to industrialism but an effort to realize for the first time in history the democratic commitment to equal educational opportunity. He sees the new emphasis on "learning by doing" as a device par excellence to narrow the gap between school and life; and closeness to life is required "if the pupil is to understand the facts which the teacher wishes him to learn; if his knowledge is to be real not verbal; if his education is to furnish standards of judgment and comparison" [3:294]. Even more important, perhaps, a school close to life sends into society men and women "intelligent in the pursuit of the activities in which they engage" [3:249]. People educated in this way are inevitably agents of constructive social change, and the schools which educate them are thereby intimately bound to the larger cause of reform [3:226-227]. Indeed, it is this very tie that makes progressive education progressive!

Actually, the dialectic between Dewey the observer and Dewey the reformer is probably the most intriguing thing about the volume.[5] On the one hand, we know that many of the pedagogical experiments he describes grew up quite independently of his own theorizing.[6] On the other hand, we recognize much in Schools of To-Morrow that exemplifies the very things he himself was urging in pamphlets going back at least twenty years.[7] The only way to handle the two Deweys, it seems, is to return to his own disclaimer, that he really was "the man sensitive to the movement of things about him" and to the thesis that his most seminal contribution was to develop a body of pedagogical theory which could encompass the terrific diversity of the progressive-education movement. It is no coincidence that Democracy and Education came a year later and wove the diverse strands of a quarter-century of educational protest and innovation into an integral theory.[8] The later work has since over-shadowed Schools of To-Morrow, but the two ought not to be read apart. One is as much the classic of the early progressive-education movement as the other. Their genius was to express a pedagogical age. For their very existence, the movement was infused with larger meaning and hence could never be the same again.

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[5] Actually, Evelyn Dewey visited the several schools and wrote the descriptive chapters of the volume; but no pun is intended by the phrase--Dewey the Observer. The larger design of the book--both descriptive and analytical--is obviously the elder Dewey's.

[6] One need only check some of the independent accounts, for example, Marietta Johnson, Thirty Years with an Idea (unpublished manuscript in the library of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939), or Caroline Pratt, I Learn from Children (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948).

[7] The ideas of My Pedagogic Creed (New York: E.L. Kellogg & Co., 1897), The School and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1899) The Child and the Curriculum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1902), and "The School as Social Center" (published in the National Education Association Proceedings for 1902) are particularly apparent. See Melvin C. Baker, Foundations of John Dewey's Educational Theory (New York: King's Crown Press, 1955) for an analysis of Dewey's pedagogical ideas prior to 1904.

[8] John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: Macmillan, 1916).

World War I marks a great divide in the history of progressive education. Merely the founding of the Progressive Education Association in 1919 would have changed the movement significantly, since what had formerly been a rather loosely defined revolt against academic formalism now gained a vigorous organizational voice.[9] But there were deeper changes, in the image of progressivism itself, that were bound to influence the course and meaning of educational reform.

Malcolm Cowley, in his delightful reminiscence of the twenties, Exile's Return, describes these changes well. He notes insightfully that intellectual protest in prewar years had mingled two quite different sorts of revolt: bohemianism and radicalism. The one was essentially an individual revolt against puritan restraint; the other, primarily a social revolt against the evils of capitalism. World War I, he argues, brought a parting of the ways. People were suddenly forced to decide what kinds of rebels they were. If they were merely rebels against puritanism, they could exist safely in Mr. Wilson's world; if they were radicals, they had no place in it.[10]

Cowley's analysis provides a key to one of the important intellectual shifts of the twenties. With the end of the War, radicalism seemed no longer in fashion among the avant garde, particularly the artists and literati who flocked to the Greenwich Villages of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. It did not die; it was merely eclipsed by a polyglot system of ideas which combined the doctrines of self-expression, liberty, and psychological adjustment into a confident, iconoclastic individualism that fought the constraints of Babbitry and the discipline of social reform as well. And just as prewar progressivism had given rise to a new educational outlook one which cast the school as a lever of social change, so this postwar protest developed its own characteristic pedagogical argument: the notion that each individual has uniquely creative potentialities, and that a school in which children are encouraged freely to develop these potentialities is the best guarantee of a larger society truly devoted to human worth and excellence.

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[9] The organization was founded by a young reformist educator named Stanwood Cobb, who had come under the influence of Marietta Johnson. Dewey refused a number of early invitations to associate himself with the group, but later served as its honorary president. The best account of the Association's first years is given in Robert Holmes Beck, "American Progressive Education, 1875-1930" (unpublis Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1942).

[10] Malcolm Cowley, Exile's Return (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1934), Ch.2. Henry F. May contends that the shift toward what Cowley call bohemianism actually began well before the War. See "The Rebellion of the Intellectuals, 1912-1917," American Quarterly, VIII (Summer 1956), 114-126.

Now those who had read Schools of To-Morrow must certainly have recognized this essentially Rousseauan stance; it had been at the heart of several of the schools Dewey had described. Yet readers who had troubled to follow Dewey's argument to the end, and who had accepted his analysis incorporating Rousseau's insights into a larger social reformism, must have noted a curious difference of emphasis here.[11] For just as radicalism seemed eclipsed in the broader protests of the twenties, so it seemed to disappear from the progressive pedagogy of the decade.[12] For all intents and purposes, the avant garde pedagogues expanded one part of what progressive education had formerly meant into its total meaning.

Nowhere is this transformation more clearly documented than in the characteristic exegesis of progressive education during the twenties, The Child-Centered School.[13] Written by Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker in 1928, the volume attempts for the movement in its time what Schools of To-Morrow had done a decade earlier. Its pages teem with pedagogical experiments illustrating the new articles of pedagogical faith: freedom, child interest, pupil initiative, creative self-expression, and personality development. And just as Dewey had seen a central connection with democracy as the crux of the earlier movement, so Rugg and Shumaker saw the relationship with the creative revolution of the twenties as the essential meaning of this one. To grasp the signigicance of the child-centered schools, they urged, one had to comprehend the historic battle of the artist against the standardization, the superficiality, and the commercialism of industrial civilization. The key to the creative revolution of the twenties was the triumph of self-expression, in art and in education as well. Hence in creative self-expression they found the quintessential meaning of the progessive-education movement.

Dewey, of course, was not unaware of the continuing ferment in pedagogical circles. His interest in education persisted, but as the decade progressed he became less and less the sensitive observer and interpreter of the progressive-education movement and increasingly its critic. As early as 1926, for example, he attacked the studied lack of adult guidance in the avant garde schools with a sharpness uncommon in his writing. "Such a method," he observed, "is really stupid. For it attempts the impossible, which is always stupid; and it misconceives the conditions of independent thinking" [14:37]. Freedom, he counselled, is not something given at birth; nor is it bred of planlessness. It is something to be achieved, to be systematically wrought out in co-operation with experienced teachers, knowledgeable in their own traditions. Baby, Dewey insisted, does not know best![14]

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[11] The incorporation is most clearly evident in Chapter 12 of Schools of To-Morrow. See also Dewey's comments on Rousseau in Chapter 7 and 9 of Democracy and Education.

[12] Radicalism even tended to disappear from pedagogical formulations of many political radicals. See, for example, Agnes de Lima, Our Enemy the Child (New York: New Republic, 1925), Ch. 12.

[13] Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker, The Child-Centered School (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Co., 1928).

[14] His essay, originally published in the Journal of the Barnes Foundation, is reprinted in John Dewey et al., Art and Education, pp. 32-40.

Two years later, the same year The Child-Centered School appeared, Dewey used the occasion of a major address before the Progressive Education Association to reiterate his point. "Progressive schools," he noted, "set store by individuality, and sometimes it seems to be thought that orderly organization of subject-matter is hostile to the needs of students in their individual character. But individuality is something developing and to be continuously attained, not something given all at once and ready-made" [15:201]. Far from being hostile to the principle of individuality, he continued, some systematic organization of activities and subject matter is the only means for actually achieving individuality; and teachers, by virtue of their richer and fuller experience, have not only the right but the high obligation to assist students in the enterprise.[15]

His strictures were not heeded, and in 1930 he leveled them even more vigorously in the concluding essay of a New Republic series evaluating a decade of progressive education.[16] The formalism and isolation of the conventional schoolroom had literally cried out for reform, he recalled. But the point of the progressive revolt had been not to rid the school of subject matter, but rather to build a new subject matter, as well organized as the old but having a more intimate relation to the experience of students. "The relative failure to accomplish this result indicates the one-sidedness of the idea of the 'child-centered' school" [16:205].

Then Dewey went on to a more pervasive critcism. Progressive schools, he conceded, had been most successful in furthering creativity in the arts. But this accomplishment, however much it contributed to private sensibilities, had hardly met either the social or the aesthetic needs of a democratic-industrial society. A truly progressive education, he concluded, "requires a searching study of society and its moving forces. That the traditional schools have almost wholly evaded consideration of the social potentialities of education is no reason why progressive schools should continue the evasion, even though it be sugared over with aesthetic refinements. The time ought to come when no one will be judged to be an educated man or woman who does not have insight into the basic forces of industrial and urban civilization. Only schools which take the lead in bringing about this kind of education can claim to be progressive in any socially significant sense" [16:206].

Dewey's comments seemed particularly à propos in the summer of 1930. Already the depression which was to envelop the nation and become the central fact of the thirties was very much in evidence. Breadlines were common in the industrial cities, and women could be seen raking through community refuse heaps as soon as garbage trucks departed. Suddenly radicalism was no longer passe; it was bohemianism that appeared a little out of date.[17] Socially conscious notions of progressive education, disparaged by the avante garde of the twenties as "social efficiency," were now very much to the point.[18]

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[15] John Dewey, "Progressive Education and the Science of Education," Progressive Education V (July-August-September 1928), 197-204.

[16] John Dewey, "How Much Freedom in New Schools?" New Republic, LXIII (July 9, 1930), 204-206. The decade to which the New Republic refers is, of course 1919-1929. The implication, that progressive education really began with the founding of the Progressive Education Association, is oft-repeated but erroneous.

It should be no surprise that Dewey's formulation of the meaning of progressivism in education came once again to the fore. Early in 1932 he accepted membership on a yearbook commission of the National Society of College Teachers of Education dedicated to producing a statement of philosophy of education appropriate to the times. The volume which emerged, The Educational Frontier, is, like The-Child Centered School, the characteristic progressivist statement of its decade. And while its formulations are essentially collaborative, Dewey's own views are clearly discernible in two chapters he wrote jointly with his student John L. Childs.[19]

The Dewey of these chapters is now the vigorous proponent. His plea is for an educational program conceived in the broadest terms, one which has "definite reference to the needs and issues which mark and divide our domestic, economic, and political life in the generation of which we are a part" [19:36]. As with his educational outlook from the beginning, his call is for a school close to life, one that will send into society people able to understand it, to live intelligently as part of it, and to change it to suit their visions of the better life. Once again, he sees changes through education as "correlative and interactive" with changes through politics. "No social modification, slight or revolutionary, can endure except as it enters into the action of a people through their desires and purposes. This introduction and perpetuation are effected by education" [19:318].

Dewey held essentially to this position throughout the stormy thirties. To George Counts's provocative question "Dare the school build a new social order?" Dewey replied that in an industrial society with its multiplicity of political and educative agencies, the school could never be the main determinant of political, intellectual, or moral change.[20] "Nevertheless," he continued, "while the school is not a sufficient condition, it is a necessary condition of forming the understanding and the dispositions that are required to maintain a genuinely changed social order."[21] It would be revolution enough, Dewey once told an NEA audience, were educators to begin to recognize the fact of social change and to act upon that recognition in the schools.[22]

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[17] Cowley's "Epilogue" in the 1951 reissue of Exile's Return is an interesting commentary on this point.

[18] The common cry was that Dewey had been too much the rationalist to develop an adequate theory of creativity. See, for example, The Child-Centered School, pp. 4, 324-325.

[19] William H. Kilpatrick (ed.), The Educational Frontier (New York: Appleton-Century, 1933). Dewey actually wrote Chapters 2 and 9, though as joint efforts with Childs. See also "The Crucial Role of Intelligence," Social Frontier, I (February 1935), 9-10.

[20] See George S. Counts, Dare the School Build a New Social Order? (New York: John Day Company, 1932). The tension between bohemianism and redicalism within the progressive-education movement is dramatically protrayed by Counts in an address in 1932 to the Progressive Education Association, "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" Progressive Education, IX (April 1932), 257-263

[21] John Dewey, "Education and Social Change," Social Frontier, III (May 1937), 235-238. Italics mine. See also "Can Education Share in Social Reconstruction?" Social Frontier, I (October 1934), 11-12.

Dewey steadfastly opposed indoctrination in the form of the inculcation of fixed social beliefs. But he did contend that for schools to be progressive, teachers would have to select the newer scientific, technological, and cultural forces producing changes in the old order, estimate their outcomes if given free play, and see what could be done to make the schools their ally.[23] To some, of course, this was as crass a form of indoctrination as any; and Dewey was criticized on the one hand by those who insisted that his notions would cast the school into an indefensible presentism at the expense of traditional values and verities, and on the other by those in the progressive camp who maintained that any social guidance by adults was really an unwarranted form of imposition.

Dewey replied to both groups in what was destined to be his most important pedagogical work of the thirties, Experience and Education. The volume is really a restatement of aspects of his educational outlook in the context of the criticisms, distortions, and misunderstandings which had grown up over two decades. There is little fundamentally new, except perhaps the tone. Progressive educators, he suggests, should begin to think "in terms of Education itself rather than in terms of some 'ism about education, even such an 'ism as 'progressivism.' For in spite of itself any movement that thinks and acts in terms of an 'ism becomes so involved in reaction against other 'isms that it is unwittingly controlled by them. For it then forms its principles by reaction against them instead of by a comprehensive constructive survey of actual needs, problems, and possibilities."[24] By 1938, Dewey the sensitive observer could already note, probably with a measure of sadness, that the movement was devoting too much of its energy to internecine ideological conflict and too little, perhaps to the advancement of its own cause.

Frederic Lilge, in a perceptive essay he recently published in a volume honoring Robert Ulich, contends that Dewey's pedagogical progressivism embodies a fundamental inconsistency which Dewey never really resolves.[25]

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[22] John Dewey, "Education for a Changing Social Order," National Education Association Proceedings, 1934, pp. 744-752.

[23] John Dewey, "Education and Social Change," op. cit., and "Education Democracy, and Socialized Economy," Social Frontier, V (December 1938), 71-72. The latter article deals with an exchange between John L. Childs and Boyd H. Bode in the previous issue of Social Frontier.

[24] John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), pp. vi-vii.

[25] Frederic Lilge, "Politics and the Philosophy of Education," in Liberal Traditions in Education, George Z. F. Bereday (ed.) (Cambridge, Mass.: Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1958), pp. 27-49.

A theory which seems to harmonize the school with the larger social environment, Lilge argues, and which casts the school as a lever of reform, inevitably faces a twofold difficulty: first in determining which social goals to serve in the school; and second, in deciding whether or not to embark on an ever broader program of political reform outside the school. Thus, "Dewey was confronted by two equally repellent alternatives: pursuing his basic aim of adjusting the schools to the social environment, he could integrate them with institutions and practices whose underlying values he rejected; or he could attempt to withdraw them from being thus corrupted, but at the cost of sacrificing that closeness to actual life which it was one of the main aims of his educational philosophy to establish" [25:29]. Lilge contends that Dewey accepted neither, and that the thirties saw him and a number of influential followers increasingly thrust into a clearly political program of reform, both via the schools and outside of them. Their manifesto was Counts's pamphlet, Dare the School Build a New Social Order; their statement of educational principles was The Educational Frontier; their intellectual organ was the Social Frontier, a journal which appeared regularly in the decade following 1934.

Now Lilge himself grants that his analysis is far more relevant to some of Dewey's disciples than to Dewey himself. Even so, some clarification is needed. For to pose the dilemma in the first place is to misread the relationship between progressive education and progressivism writ large, particularly as Dewey perceived it. Dewey had no illusions about the school changing society on its own; that educational and political reform would have to go hand in hand was the progressive view from the beginning.[26] Nor did the notion of adjusting the school to society imply that the school would have to accommodate itself to all institutions and practices. Dewey wanted schools to use the stuff of reality to educate men and women intelligent about reality. His notion of adjustment was an adjustment of conditions, not to them, a remaking of existing conditions, not a mere remaking of self and individual to fit into them.[27] And as for the corrupting influence of life itself, Dewey was no visionary; the problem for him was not to build the perfect society but a better society. To this he thought a school that educated for intelligence about reality could make a unique contribution.

Dewey restated these faiths in the introductory essay he wrote for Elsie Clapp's 1952 volume, The Use of Resources in Education; it is probably his last major statement on education.[28] Once again, he returns to the role of sensitive observer. "In the course of more than half a century of participation in the theory and practice of education," he writes, "I have witnessed many successes and many failures in what is popularly known as 'progressive education,' but is also known as 'the new education,' 'modern education,' and so on." He sees the triumph of the movement in the changed life-conditions of the American classroom, in a greater awareness of the needs of the growing human being, in the warmer personal relations between teachers and students. But as with all reform victories, he see attendant dangers. No education is progressive, he warns, unless it is making progress. And he observes somewhat poignantly that in schools and colleges across the country, progressive education has been converted into a set of fixed rules and procedures "to be applied to educational problems externally, the way mustard plasters, for example, are applied." If this ossification continues, he fears progressive education will end up guilty of the very formalism it sought to correct, a formalism "fit for the foundations of a totalitarian society and for the same reason, fit to subvert, pervert and destroy the foundations of a democratic society."

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[26] Dewey makes the point on page 226 of Schools of To-Morrow and in Article V of My Pedagogic Creed.

[27] This is a central point in view of contemporary attacks on Dewey. See The Educational Frontier, p. 312.

[28] Elsie Ripley Clapp, The Use of Resources in Education (New York: Harper & Row, 1952), pp. vii-xi.

"For the creation of democratic society," he concludes, "we need an educational system where the process of moral-intellectual development is in practice as well as in theory a cooperative transaction of inquiry engaged in by free, independent human beings who treat ideas and the heritage of the past as means and methods for the further enrichments of life, quantitatively and qualitatively, who use the good attained for the discovery and establishment of something better." Dewey's sentence is involved, complex, and overly long; but it embodies the essence of the movement as he saw it. Those who would understand progressive education would do well to ponder it, as would those who set out to build today's schools of tomorrow.

THE INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP IN THE FACILITATION OF LEARNING

by
Carl R. Rogers

> ...It is in fact nothing short of a miracle that the modern methods of instruction have not yet entirely strangled the holy curiosity of inquiry; for this delicate little plant, aside from stimulation, stands mainly in need of freedom; without this it goes to wrack and ruin without fail. -- Albert Einstein

I wish to begin this paper with a statement which may seem surprising to some and perhaps offensive to others. It is simply this: Teaching, in my estimation, is a vastly overrated function.

Having made such a statement, I scurry to the dictionary to see if I really mean what I say. Teaching means "to instruct." Personally I am not much interested in instructing another. "To impart knowledge or skill." My reaction is, why not be more efficient, using a book or programmed learning? "To make to know." Here my hackles rise. I have no wish to make anyone know something. "To show, guide, direct." As I see it, too many people have been shown, guided, directed. So I come to the conclusion that I do mean what I said. Teaching is, for me, a relatively unimportant and vastly overvalued activity.

But there is more in my attitude than this. I have a negative reaction to teaching. Why? I think it is because it raises all the wrong questions. As soon as we focus on teaching, the question arises, what shall we teach? What, from our superior vantage point, does the other person need to know? This raises the ridiculous question of coverage. What shall the course cover? (Here I am acutely aware of the fact that "to cover" means both "to take in" and "to conceal from view," and I believe that most courses admirably achieve both these aims.) This notion of coverage is based on the assumption that what is taught is what is learned; what is presented is what is assimilated. I know of no assumption so obviously untrue. One does not need research to provide evidence that this is false. One needs only to talk with a few students.

But I ask myself, "Am I so prejudiced against teaching that I find no situation in which it is worthwhile?" I immediately think of my experience in Australia only a few months ago. I became much interested in the Australian aborigine. Here is a group which for more than 20,000 years has managed to live and exist in a desolate environment in which a modern man would perish within a few days. The secret of his survival has been teaching. He has passed on to the young every shred of knowledge about how to find water, about how to track game, about how to kill the kangaroo, about how to find his way through the trackless desert. Such knowledge is conveyed to the young as being the way to behave, and any innovation is frowned upon. It is clear that teaching has provided him the way to survive in a hostile and relatively unchanging environment.

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Now I am closer to the nub of the question which excites me. Teaching and the imparting of knowledge make sense in an unchanging environment. This is why it has been an unquestioned function for centuries. But if there is one truth about modern man, it is that he lives in an environment which is continually changing. The one thing I can be sure of is that the physics which is taught to the present day student will be outdated in a decade. The teaching in psychology will certainly be out of date in 20 years. The so-called "facts of history" depend very largely upon the current mood and temper of the culture. Chemistry, biology, genetics, sociology, are in such flux that a firm statement made today will almost certainly be modified by the time the student gets around to using the knowledge.

We are, in my view, faced with an entirely new situation in education where the goal of education, if we are to survive, is the facilitation of change and learning. The only man who is educated is the man who has learned how to learn; the man who has learned how to adapt and change; the man who has realized that no knowledge is secure, that only the process of seeking knowledge gives a basis for security. Changingness, a reliance on process rather than upon static knowledge, is the only thing that makes any sense as a goal for education in the modern world.

So now with some relief I turn to an activity, a purpose, which really warms me -- the facilitation of learning. When I have been able to transform a group -- and here I mean all the members of a group, myself included -- into a community of learners, then the excitement has been almost beyond belief. To free curiosity; to permit individuals to go charging off in new directions dictated by their own interests; to unleash curiosity; to open everything to questioning and exploration; to recognize that everything is in process of change -- here is an experience I can never forget. I cannot always achieve it in groups with which I am associated but when it is partially or largely achieved then it becomes a never-to-be-forgotten group experience. Out of such a context arise true students, real learners, creative scientists and scholars and practitioners, the kind of individuals who can live in a delicate but ever-changing balance between what is presently known and the flowing, moving, altering, problems and facts of the future.

Here then is a goal to which I can give myself wholeheartedly. I see the facilitation of learning as the aim of education, the way in which we might develop the learning man, the way in which we can learn to live as individuals in process. I see the facilitation of learning as the function which may hold constructive, tentative, changing, process answers to some of the deepest perplexities which beset man today.

But do we know how to achieve this new goal in education, or is it a will-of-the-wisp which sometimes occurs, sometimes fails to occur, and thus offers little real hope? My answer is that we possess a very considerable knowledge of the conditions which encourage self-initiated, significant, experiential, "gut-level" learning by the whole person. We do not frequently see these conditions put into effect because they mean a real revolution in our approach to education and revolutions are not for the timid. But we do find examples of this revolution in action.

We know -- and I will briefly describe some of the evidence -- that the initiation of such learning rests not upon the teaching skills of the leader, not upon his scholarly knowledge of the field, not upon his curricular planning, not upon his use of audio-visual aids, not upon the programmed learning he utilizes, not upon his lectures and presentations, not upon an abundance of books, though each of these might at one time or another be utilized as an important resource. No, the facilitation of significant learning rests upon certain attitudinal qualities which exist in the personal relationship between the facilitator and the learner.

We came upon such findings first in the field of psychotherapy, but increasingly there is evidence which shows that these findings apply in the classroom as well. We find it easier to think that the intensive relationship between therapist and client might possess these qualities, but we are also finding that they may exist in the countless interpersonal interactions (as many as 1,000 per day, as Jackson [1966] has shown) between the teacher and his pupils.

What are these qualities, these attitudes, which facilitate learning? Let me describe them very briefly, drawing illustrations from the teaching field.

REALNESS IN THE FACILITATOR OF LEARNING

Perhaps the most basic of these essential attitudes is realness or genuineness. When the facilitator is a real person, being what he is, entering into a relationship with the learner without presenting a front or a facade, he is much more likely to be effective. This means that the feelings which he is experiencing are available to him, available to his awareness, that he is able to live these feelings, be them, and able to communicate them if appropriate. It means that he comes into a direct personal encounter with the learner, meeting him on a person-to-person basis. It means that he is being himself, not denying himself.

Seen from this point of view it is suggested that the teacher can be a real person in his relationship with his students. He can be enthusiastic, he can be bored, he can be interested in students, he can be angry, he can be sensitive and sympathetic. Because he accepts these feelings as his own he has no need to impose them on his students. He can like or dislike a student product without implying that it is objectively good or bad or that the student is good or bad. He is simply expressing a feeling for the product, a feeling which exists within himself. Thus, he is a person to his students, not a faceless embodiment of a curricular requirement nor a sterile tube through which knowledge is passed from one generation to the next.

It is obvious that this attitudinal set, found to be effective in psychotherapy, is sharply in contrast with the tendency of most teachers to show themselves to their pupils simply as roles. It is quite customary for teachers rather consciously to put on the mask, the role, the facade, of being a teacher, and to wear this facade all day removing it only when they have left the school at night.

But not all teachers are like this. Take Sylvia Ashton-Warner, who took resistant, supposedly slow-learning primary school Maori children in New Zealand, and let them develop their own reading vocabulary. Each child could request one word -- whatever word he wished -- each day, and she would print it on a card and give it to him. "Kiss," "ghost," "bomb," "tiger," "fight," "love," "daddy" -- these are samples. Soon they were building sentences, which they could also keep. "He'll get a licking." "Pussy's frightened." The children simply never forgot these self-initiated learnings. Yet it is not my purpose to tell you of her methods. I want instead to give you a glimpse of her attitude, of the passionate realness which must have been as evident to her tiny pupils as to her readers. An editor asked her some questions and she responded: "'A few cool facts' you asked me for....I don't know that there's a cool fact in me, or anything else cool for that matter, on this particular subject. I've got only hot long facts on the matter of Creative Teaching, scorching both the page and me" (Ashton-Warner, 163, p.26).

Here is no sterile facade. Here is a vital person, with convictions, with feelings. It is her transparent realness which was, I am sure, one of the elements that made her an exciting facilitator of learning. She does not fit into some neat educational formula. She is, and students grow by being in contact with someone who really is.

Take another very different person, Barbara Shiel, also doing exciting work facilitating learning in sixth graders.[1] She gave them a great deal of responsible freedom, and I will mention some of the reactions of her students later. But here is an example of the way she shared herself with her pupils -- not just sharing feelings of sweetness and light, but anger and frustration. She had made art materials freely available, and students often used these in creative ways, but the room frequently looked like a picture of chaos. Here is her report of her feelings and what she did with them.

> I find it (still) maddening to live with the mess -- with a capital M! No one seems to care except me. Finally, one day I told the children...that I am a neat, orderly person by nature and that the mess was driving me to distraction. Did they have a solution? It was suggested they could have volunteers to clean up....I said it didn't seem fair to me to have the same people clean up all the time for others -- but it would solve it for me. "Well, some people like to clean," they replied. So that's the way it is (Shiel, 1966).

I hope this example puts some lively meaning into the phrases I used earlier, that the facilitator "is able to live these feelings, be them, and able to communicate them if appropriate." I have chosen an example of negative feelings, because I think it is more difficult for most of us to visualize what this would mean. In this instance, Miss Shiel is taking the risk of being transparent in her angry frustrations about the mess. And what happens? The same thing which, in my experience, nearly always happens. These young people accept and respect her feelings, take them into account, and work out a novel solution which none of us, I believe, would have suggested in advance. Miss Shiel wisely comments, "I used to get upset and feel guilty when I became angry -- I finally realized the children could accept my feelings, too. And it is important for them to know when they've 'pushed me.' I have limits, too"(Shiel, 1966).

Just to show that positive feelings, when they are real, are equally effective, let me quote briefly a college student's reaction, in a different course. "...Your sense of humor in the class was cheering;

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[1] For a more extended account of Miss Shiel's initial attempts, see Rogers, 1966a. Her later experience is described in Shiel, 1966.

we all felt relaxed because you showed us your human self, not a mechanical teacher image. I feel as if I have more understanding and faith in my teachers now....I feel closer to the students too." Another says, "...You conducted the class on a personal level and therefore in my mind I was able to formulate a picture of you as a person and not as merely a walking textbook." Or another student in the same course,

> ...It wasn't as if there was a teacher in the class, but rather someone whom we could trust and identify as a "sharer." You were so perceptive and sensitive to our thoughts, and this made it all the more "authentic" for me. It was an "authentic" experience, not just a class (Bull, 1966).

I trust I am making it clear that to be real is not always easy, nor is it achieved all at once, but it is basic to the person who wants to become that revolutionary individual, a facilitator of learning.

PRIZING, ACCEPTANCE, TRUST

There is another attitude which stands out in those who are successful in facilitating learning. I have observed this attitude. I have experienced it. Yet it is hard to know what term to put to it so I shall use several. I think of it as prizing the learner, prizing his feelings, his opinions, his person. It is a caring for the learner, but a non-possessive caring. It is an acceptance of this other individual as a separate person, having worth in his own right. It is a basic trust -- a belief that this other person is somehow fundamentally trustworthy.

Whether we call it prizing, acceptance, trust, or by some other term, it shows up in a variety of observable ways. The facilitator who has a considerable degree of this attitude can be fully acceptant of the fear and hesitation of the student as he approaches a new problem as well as acceptant of the pupil's satisfaction in achievement. Such a teacher can accept the student's occasional apathy, his erratic desires to explore byroads of knowledge, as well as his disciplined efforts to achieve major goals. He can accept personal feelings which both disturb and promote learning -- rivalry with a sibling, hatred of authority, concern about personal adequacy. What we are describing is a prizing of the learner as an imperfect human being with many feelings, many potentialities. The facilitator's prizing or acceptance of the learner is an operational expression of his essential confidence and trust in the capacity of the human organism.

I would like to give some examples of this attitude from the classroom situation. Here any teacher statements would be properly suspect, since many of us would like to feel we hold such attitudes, and might have a biased perception of our qualities. But let me indicate how this attitude of prizing, of accepting, of trusting, appears to the student who is fortunate enough to experience it.

Here is a statement from a college student in a class with Morey Appell.

> Your way of being with us is a revelation to me. In your class I feel important, mature, and capable of doing things on

> my own. I want to think for myself and this need cannot be accomplished through textbooks and lectures alone, but through living. I think you see me as a person with real feelings and needs, an individual. What I say and do are significant expressions from me, and you recognize this (Appell, 1959).

One of Miss Shiel's sixth graders expresses much more briefly her misspelled appreciation of this attitude, "You are a wounderful teacher period!!!"

College students in a class with Dr. Patricia Bull describe not only these prizing, trusting attitudes, but the effect these have had on their other interactions.

> ...I feel that I can say things to you that I can't say to other professors...Never before have I been so aware of the other students or their personalities. I have never had so much interaction in a college classroom with my classmates. The climate of the classroom has had a very profound effect on me...the free atmosphere for discussion affected me... the general atmosphere of a particular session affected me. There have been many times when I have carried the discussion out of the class with me and thought about it for a long time.

> ...I still feel close to you, as though there were some tacit understanding between us, almost a conspiracy. This adds to the in-class participation on my part because I feel that at least one person in the group will react, even when I am not sure of the others. It does not matter really whether your reaction is positive or negative, it just is. Thank you.

> ...I appreciate the respect and concern you have for others, including myself....As a result of my experience in class, plus the influence of my readings, I sincerely believe that the student-centered teaching method does provide an ideal framework for learning; not just for the accumulation of facts, but more important, for learning about ourselves in relation to others...When I think back to my shallow awareness in September compared to the depth of my insights now, I know that this course has offered me a learning experience of great value which I couldn't have acquired in any other way.

> ...Very few teachers would attempt this method because they would feel that they would lose the students' respect. On the contrary. You gained our respect, through your ability to speak to us on our level, instead of ten miles above us. With the complete lack of communication we see in this school, it was a wonderful experience to see people listening to each other and really communicating on an adult, intelligent level. More classes should afford us this experience (Bull, 1966)

As you might expect, college students are often suspicious that these seeming attitudes are phony. One of Dr. Buli's students writes:

> ...Rather than observe my classmates for the first few weeks, I concentrated my observations on you, Dr. Bull. I tried to figure out your motivations and purposes. I was convinced that you were a hypocrite....I did change my opinion, however. You are not a hypocrite, by any means... I do wish the course could continue. "Let each become all he is capable of being."...Perhaps my most disturbing question, which relates to this course is: When will we stop hiding things from ourselves and our contemporaries? (Bull, 1966).

I am sure these examples are more than enough to show that the facilitator who cares, who prizes, who trusts the learner, creates a climate for learning so different from the ordinary classroom that any resemblance is, as they say, "purely coincidental."

EMPATHIC UNDERSTANDING

A further element which establishes a climate for self-initiated, experiential learning is empathic understanding. When the teacher has the ability to understand the student's reactions from the inside, has a sensitive awareness of the way the process of education and learning seems to the student, then again the likelihood of significant learning is increased.

This kind of understanding is sharply different from the usual evaluative understanding, which follows the pattern of, "I understand what is wrong with you." When there is a sensitive empathy, however, the reaction in the learner follows something of this pattern, "At last someone understands how it feels and seems to be me without wanting to analyze me or judge me. Now I can blossom and grow and learn."

This attitude of standing in the other's shoes of viewing the world through the student's eyes, is almost unheard of in the classroom. One could listen to thousands of ordinary classroom interactions without coming across one instance of clearly communicated, sensitively accurate, empathic understanding. But it has a tremendously releasing effect when it occurs.

Let me take an illustration from Virginia Axline, dealing with a second grade boy. Jay, age 7, has been aggressive, a trouble maker, slow of speech and learning. Because of his "cussing" he was taken to the principal, who paddled him, unknown to Miss Axline. During a free work period, he fashioned a man of clay, very carefully, down to a hat and a handkerchief in his pocket. "Who is that?" asked Miss Axline. "Dunno," replied Jay. "Maybe it is the principal. He has a handkerchief in his pocket like that." Jay glared at the clay figure. "Yes," he said. Then he began to tear the head off and looked up and smiled. Miss Axline said, "You sometimes feel like twisting his head off, don't you? You get so mad at him." Jay tore off one arm, another, then beat the figure to a pulp with his fists. Another boy, with the perception of the young, explained, "Jay is mad at Mr. X because he licked him this noon." "Then you must feel lots better now," Miss Axline commented. Jay grinned and began to rebuild Mr. X. (Adapted from Axline, 1944.)

The other examples I have cited also indicate how deeply appreciative students feel when they are simply understood -- not evaluated, not judged, simply understood from their own point of view, not the teacher's. If any teacher set herself the task of endeavoring to make one non-evaluative, acceptant, empathic response per day to a pupil's demonstrated or verbalized feeling, I believe he would discover the potency of this currently almost nonexistent kind of understanding.

Let me wind up this portion of my remarks by saying that when a facilitator creates, even to a modest degree, a classroom climate characterized by such realness, prizing, and empathy, he discovers that he has inaugurated an educational revolution. Learning of a different quality, proceeding at a different pace, with a greater degree of pervasiveness, occurs. Feelings -- positive and negative, confused -- become a part of the classroom experience. Learning becomes life, and a very vital life at that. The student is on his way, sometimes excitedly, sometimes reluctantly, to becoming a learning, changing being.

THE EVIDENCE

Already I can hear the mutterings of some of my so-called "hard-headed" colleagues. "A very pretty picture -- very touching. But these are all self reports." (As if there were any other type of expression! But that's another issue.) They ask, "Where is the evidence? How do you know?" I would like to turn to this evidence. It is not overwhelming, but it is consistent. It is not perfect, but it is suggestive.

First of all, in the field of psychotherapy, Barrett-Lennard (1962) developed an instrument whereby he could measure these attitudinal qualities: genuineness or congruence, prizing or positive regard, empathy or understanding. This instrument was given to both client and therapist, so that we have the perception of the relationship both by the therapist and by the client whom he is trying to help. To state some of the findings very briefly it may be said that those clients who eventually showed more therapeutic change as measured by various instruments, perceived more of these qualities in their relationship with the therapist than did those who eventually showed less change. It is also significant that this difference in perceived relationships was evident as early as the fifth interview, and predicted later change or lack of change in therapy. Furthermore, it was found that the client's perception of the relationship, his experience of it, was a better predictor of ultimate outcome than was the perception of the relationship by the therapist. Barrett-Lennard's original study has been amplified and generally confirmed by other studies.

So we may say, cautiously, and with qualifications which would be too cumbersome for the present paper, that if, in therapy, the client perceives his therapist as real and genuine, as one who likes, prizes and empathically understands him, self-learning and therapeutic change are facilitated.

Now another thread of evidence, this time related more closely to education. Emmerling (1961) found that when high school teachers were asked to identify the problems they regarded as most urgent, they could be divided into two groups. Those who regarded their most serious problems, for example, as "Helping students think for themselves and be independent"; "Getting students to participate"; "Learning new ways of helping students develop their maximum potential"; "Helping students express individual needs and interests"; fell into what he called the "open" or "positively oriented" group. When Barrett-Lennard's Relationship Inventory was administered to the students of these teachers, it was found that they were perceived as significantly more real, more acceptant, more empathic than the other group of teachers whom I shall now describe.

The second category of teachers were those who tended to see their most urgent problems in negative terms, and in terms of student deficiencies and inabilities. For them the urgent problems were such as these: "Trying to teach children who don't even have the ability to follow directions"; "Teaching children who lack a desire to learn"; "Students who are not able to do the work required for their grade"; "Getting the children to listen." It probably will be no surprise that when the students of these teachers filled out the Relationship Inventory they saw their teachers as exhibiting relatively little of genuineness, of acceptance and trust, or of empathic understanding.

Hence we may say that the teacher whose orientation is toward releasing the student's potential exhibits a high degree of these attitudinal qualities which facilitate learning. The teacher whose orientation is toward the shortcomings of his students exhibits much less of these qualities.

A small pilot study by Bills (1961, 1966) extends the significance of these findings. A group of eight teachers was selected, four of them rated as adequate and effective by their superiors, and also showing this more positive orientation to their problems. The other four were rated as inadequate teachers and also had a more negative orientation to their problems, as described above. The students of these teachers were then asked to fill out the Barrett-Lennard Relationship Inventory, giving their perception of their teacher's relationship to them. This made the students very happy. Those who saw their relationship with the teacher as good were happy to describe this relationship. Those who had an unfavorable relationship were pleased to have, for the first time, an opportunity to specify the ways in which the relationship was unsatisfactory.

The more effective teachers were rated higher in every attitude measured by the Inventory: they were seen as more real, as having a higher level of regard for their students, were less conditional or judgmental in their attitudes, showed more empathic understanding. Without going into the details of the study it may be illuminating to mention that the total scores summing these attitudes vary sharply. For example, the relationships of a group of clients with their therapists, as perceived by the clients, received an average score of 108. The four most adequate high school teachers as seen by their students, received a score of 60. The four less adequate teachers received a score of 34. The lowest rated teacher received an average score of 2 from her students on the Relationship Inventory.

This small study certainly suggests that the teacher regarded as effective displays in her attitudes those qualities I have described as facilitative of learning, while the inadequate teacher shows little of these qualities.

Approaching the problem from a diffent angle, Schmuck (1963) has shown that in classrooms where pupils perceive their teachers as understanding them, there is likely to be a more diffuse liking structure among the pupils. This means that where the teacher is empathic, there are not a few students strongly liked and a few strongly disliked, but liking and affection are more evenly diffused throughout the group. In a later study he has shown that among students who are highly involved in their classroom peer group, "significant relationships exist between actual liking status on the one hand and utilization of abilities, attitude toward self, and attitude toward school on the other hand" (1966, p. 357-58). This seems to lend confirmation to the other evidence by indicating that in an understanding classroom climate every student tends to feel liked by all the others, to have a more positive attitude toward himself and toward school. If he is highly involved with his peer group (and this appears probable in such a classroom climate), he also tends to utilize his abilities more fully in his school achievement.

But you may still ask, does the student actually learn more where these attitudes are present? Here an interesting study of third graders by Aspy (1965) helps to round out the suggestive evidence. He worked in six third-grade classes. The teachers tape-recorded two full weeks of their interaction with their students in the periods devoted to the teaching of reading. These recordings were done two months apart so as to obtain an adequate sampling of the teacher's interactions with her pupils. Four-minute segments of these recordings were randomly selected for rating. Three raters, working independently and "blind," rated each segment for the degree of congruence or genuineness shown by the teacher, the degree of her prizing or unconditional positive regard, and the degree of her empathic understanding.

The Reading Achievement Tests (Stanford Achievement) were used as the criterion. Again, omitting some of the details of a carefully and rigorously controlled study, it may be said that the children in the three classes with the highest degree of the attitudes described above showed a significantly greater gain in reading achievement than those students in the three classes with a lesser degree of these qualities.

So we may say, with a certain degree of assurance, that the attitudes I have endeavored to describe are not only effective in facilitating a deeper learning and understanding of self in a relationship such as psychotherapy, but that these attitudes characterize teachers who are regarded as effective teachers, and that the students of these teachers learn more, even of a conventional curriculum, than do students of teachers who are lacking in these attitudes.

I am pleased that such evidence is accumulating. It may help to justify the revolution in education for which I am obviously hoping. But the most striking learnings of students exposed to such a climate are by no means restricted to greater achievement in the three R's. The significant learnings are the more personal ones -- independence, self-initiated and responsible learning; release of creativity, a tendency to become more of a person. I can only illustrate this by picking, almost at random, statements from students whose teachers have endeavored to create a climate of trust, of prizing, of realness, of understanding, and above all, of freedom.

Again I must quote from Sylvia Ashton-Warner one of the central effects of such a climate.

> ...The drive is no longer the teacher's, but the children's own....The teacher is at last with the stream and not against it, the stream of children's inexorable creativeness (Ashton-Warner, p. 93).

If you need verification of this, listen to a few of Dr. Bull's sophomore students. The first two are mid-semester comments.

> ...This course is proving to be a vital and profound experience for me....This unique learning situation is giving me a whole new conception of just what learning is....I am experiencing a real growth in this atmosphere of constructive freedom....The whole experience is very challenging....

> ...I feel that the course has been of great value to me.... I'm glad to have had this experience because it has made me think....I've never been so personally involved with a course before, especially outside the classroom. It's been frustrating, rewarding, enjoyable and tiring!

The other comments are from the end of the course.

> ...This course is not ending with the close of the semester for me, but continuing....I don't know of any greater benefit which can be gained from a course than this desire for further knowledge....

> ...I feel as though this type of class situation has stimulated me more in making me realize where my responsibilities lie, especially as far as doing required work on my own. I no longer feel as though a test date is the criterion for reading a book. I feel as though my future work will be done for what I will get out of it, not just for a test mark.

> ...I have enjoyed the experience of being in this course. I guess that any dissatisfaction I feel at this point is a disappointment in myself, for not having taken full advantage of the opportunities the course offered.

> ...I think now that I am acutely aware of the breakdown in communications that does exist in our society from seeing what happened in our class....I've grown immensely. I know that I am a different person than I was when I came into that class....It has done a great deal in helping me understand myself better....Thank you for contributing to my growth.

> ...My idea of education has been to gain information from the teacher by attending lectures. The emphasis and focus were on the teacher....One of the biggest changes that I experienced in this class was my outlook on education. Learning is something more than a grade on a report card. No one can measure what you have learned because it's a personal thing. I was very confused between learning and memorization. I could memorize very well, but I doubt if I ever learned as much as I could have. I believe my attitude toward learning has changed from a grade-centered outlook to a more personal one.

> ...I have learned a lot more about myself and adolescents in general....I also gained more confidence in myself and my study habits by realizing that I could learn by myself without a teacher leading me by the hand. I have also learned a lot by listening to my classmates and evaluating their opinions and thoughts....This course has proved to be a most meaningful and worthwhile experience....(Bull, 1966).

If you wish to know what this type of course seems like to a sixth grader, let me give you a sampling of the reactions of Miss Shiel's youngsters, misspellings and all.

> ...I feel that I am learning self abilty. I am learning not only school work but I am learning that you can learn on your own as well as someone can teach you.
>
> ...I have a little trouble in Social Studies finding things to do. I have a hard time working the exact amount of time. Sometimes I talk to much.
>
> ...My parents don't understand the program. My mother say's it will give me a responsibility and it will let me go at my own speed.
>
> ...I like this plan because thire is a lot of freedom. I also learn more this way than the other way you don't have to wate for others you can go at your on speed rate it also takes a lot of responsibility. (Shiel, 1966).

Or let me take two more, from Dr. Appell's graduate class.

> ...I have been thinking about what happened through this experience. The only conclusion I come to is that if I try to measure what is going on, or what I was at the beginning, I have got to know what I was when I started -- and I don't....So many things I did and feel are just lost... scrambled up inside....They don't seem to come out in a nice little pattern or organization I can say or write... There are so many things left unsaid. I know I have only scratched the surface, I guess. I can feel so many things almost ready to come out...maybe that's enough. It seems all kinds of things have so much more meaning now than ever before....This experience has had meaning, has done things to me and I am not sure how much or how far just yet. I think I am going to be a better me in the fall. That's one thing I think I am sure of (Appell, 1963).
>
> ...You follow no plan, yet I'm learning. Since the term began I seem to feel more alive, more real to myself. I enjoy being alone as well as with other people. My relationships with children and other adults are becoming more emotional and involved. Eating an orange last week, I peeled the skin off each separate orange section and liked

> it better with the transparent shell off. It was juicier and fresher tasting that way. I began to think, that's how I feel sometimes, without a transparent wall around me, really communicating my feelings. I feel that I'm growing, how much, I don't know. I'm thinking, considering, pondering and learning (Appell, 1959).

I can't read these student statements -- 6th grade, college, graduate level -- without my eyes growing moist. Here are teachers, risking themselves, being themselves, trusting their students, adventuring into the existential unknown, taking the subjective leap. And what happens? Exciting, incredible human events. You can sense persons being created, learnings being initiated, future citizens rising to meet the challenge of unknown worlds. If only one teacher out of one hundred dared to risk, dared to be, dared to trust, dared to understand, we would have an infusion of a living spirit into education which would, in my estimation, be priceless.

I have heard scientists at leading schools of science, and scholars in leading universities, arguing that it is absurd to try to encourage all students to be creative -- we need hosts of mediocre technicians and workers and if a few creative scientists and artists and leaders emerge, that will be enough. That may be enough for them. It may be enough to suit you. I want to go on record as saying it is not enough to suit me. When I realize the incredible potential in the ordinary student, I want to try to release it. We are working hard to release the incredible energy in the atom and the nucleus of the atom. If we do not devote equal energy -- yes, and equal money -- to the release of the potential of the individual person, then the enormous discrepancy between our level of physical energy resources and human energy resources will doom us to a deserved and universal destruction.

I'm sorry I can't be coolly scientific about this. The issue is too urgent. I can only be passionate in my statement that people count, that interpersonal relationships are important, that we know something about releasing human potential, that we could learn much more, and that unless we give strong positive attention to the human interpersonal side of our educational dilemma, our civilization is on its way down the drain. Better courses, better curricula, better coverage, better teaching machines, will never resolve our dilemma in a basic way. Only persons, acting like persons in their relationships with their students can even begin to make a dent in this most urgent problem of modern education.

I cannot, of course, stop here in a professional lecture. An academic lecture should be calm, factual, scholarly, critical, preferably devoid of any personal beliefs, completely devoid of passion. (This is one of the reasons I left university life, but that is a completely different story.) I cannot fully fulfill these requirements for a professional lecture, but let me at least try to state, somewhat more calmly and soberly, what I have said with such feeling and passion.

I have said that it is most unfortunate that educators and the public think about, and focus on, teaching. It leads them into a host of questions which are either irrelevant or absurd so far as real education is concerned.

I have said that if we focused on the facilitation of learning --

how, why, and when the student learns, and how learning seems and feels from the inside, we might be on a much more profitable track.

I have said that we have some knowledge, and could gain more, about the conditions which facilitate learning, and that one of the most important of these conditions is the attitudinal quality of the interpersonal relationship between facilitator and learner. (There are other conditions, too, which I have tried to spell out elsewhere [Rogers, 1966b]).

Those attitudes which appear effective in promoting learning can be described. First of all is a transparent realness in the facilitator, a willingness to be a person, to be and to live the feelings and thoughts of the moment. When this realness includes a prizing, a caring, a trust and respect for the learner, the climate for learning is enhanced. When it includes a sensitive and accurate empathic listening, then indeed a freeing climate, stimulative of self-initiated learning and growth, exists.

I have tried to make plain that individuals who hold such attitudes, and are bold enough to act on them, do not simply modify classroom methods -- they revolutionize them. They perform almost none of the functions of teachers. It is no longer accurate to call them teachers. They are catalyzers, facilitators, giving freedom and life and the opportunity to learn, to students.

I have brought in the cumulating research evidence which suggests that individuals who hold such attitudes are regarded as effective in the classroom; that the problems which concern them have to do with the release of potential, not the deficiencies of their students; that they seem to create classroom situations in which there are not admired children and disliked children, but in which affection and liking are a part of the life of every child; that in classrooms approaching such a psychological climate, children learn more of the conventional subjects.

But I have intentionally gone beyond the empirical findings to try to take you into the inner life of the student -- elementary, college, and graduate -- who is fortunate enough to live and learn in such an interpersonal relationship with a facilitator, in order to let you see what learning feels like when it is free, self-initiated and spontaneous. I have tried to indicate how it even changes the student-student relationship -- making it more aware, more caring, more sensitive, as well as increasing the self-related learning of significant material.

Throughout my paper I have tried to indicate that if we are to have citizens who can live constructively in this kaleidoscopically changing world, we can only have them if we are willing for them to become self-starting, self-initiating learners. Finally, it has been my purpose to show that this kind of learner develops best, so far as we now know, in a growth-promoting, facilitative, relationship with a person.

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Take this Worksheet completed to the Debate

DEBATE WORKSHEET

Points I intend to make in my part of the debate:

1. ______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

4. ______________________________

5. ______________________________

Points I expect the opposition to make in their part of the debate:

1. ______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

4. ______________________________

5. ______________________________

Points I will make in rebuttal to those of the opposition:

1. ______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

4. ______________________________

5. ______________________________

Sources I have used in preparing for this debate:

Author	Title	Special Notes
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

SAMPLE

Your name ______________________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

TURN THIS WORKSHEET IN AFTER THE DEBATE

Take this Worksheet completed to the Debate

DEBATE WORKSHEET

Points I intend to make in my part of the debate:

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________
4. ______________________________
5. ______________________________

Points I expect the opposition to make in their part of the debate:

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________
4. ______________________________
5. ______________________________

Points I will make in rebuttal to those of the opposition:

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____
4. ____
5. ____

Sources I have used in preparing for this debate:

	Author	Title	Special Notes
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

Your name ______________________________ 3010 3040 (please circle one)

TURN THIS WORKSHEET IN AFTER THE DEBATE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5 ____
low high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5 ____
low high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5 ____
low high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5 ____
low high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5 ____
low high

Suggestions for improving ____________________

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

SAMPLE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

Suggestions for improving ______________________________

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

MODULE III - ADMINSTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND FINANCING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Rationale

Education in the United States in its formal sense has been institutionalized. This means that a bureaucracy has been developed over the years. It is logical that anyone who is going to be a part of that bureaucracy know something of its organization, administration, structure and financing. The general purpose of this module then is to familiarize the future teacher with the administrative power structure.

Objectives

After completing this module the student should have an understanding of the responsibilities and duties of the various levels of educational administration and supervision.

Materials

Brubaker, Dale and Nelson, Roland, Jr., "The School As a Bureaucratic Organization"

Van Til. Education a Beginning (Text)

Tape (Headsets and recorders located in Center)

Worksheet - "A Self Inventory of Beliefs Concerning Purposes and Functions of Schools"

Suggestions for Developing an Interview Schedule

Environment

Center

A school setting in the student's home community

A classroom in Duncan Hall

Activities and Assessment

"C" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read Van Til, Chapter 11, pp. 240-263;

2. Read Brubaker and Nelson, pages 191-202, and complete the included activities. Turn in the worksheet completed;
3. Listen to the tape;
4. Pass Test C.

"B" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read Van Til, Chapter 11, pp. 240-263;
2. Read Brubaker and Nelson, pages 191-202, and complete the included activities. Turn in the worksheet completed;
3. Listen to the tape;
4. Pass Test C;
5. Develop an Interview Schedule for interviewing an administrative officer or school board member in your home community. Include the schedule of questions you developed;

   and

   Summarize the interview in a written paper. Be sure to include information about time, place, person and his/her official title.

"A" level of competency

All of #1-5 above, plus:

6. Participate in a group discussion with an administrator or school board member at a designated time and place in order to contrast your findings and others' findings from the interviews with the speaker's views, (the time and place to be announced on the bulletin board);
7. Synthesize your ideas as a result of all the experience of this module in a paper (5 typewritten page limit).

THE SCHOOL AS A BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

by
Dale Brubaker and Roland Nelson

Although you, the decision-maker, have been a member of several bureaucracies since birth and will be until death, you have probably not studied bureaucracies, including the school, in a systematic manner. Our intent is simple and straight-forward: whether you are basically satisfied with schools as they are and advocate only minor changes or whether you think that radical changes are needed in our schools, it is to your advantage to know how schools presently operate.

SCHOOLS AS GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Part of the folklore concerning our schools is the belief that they are primarily concerned with meeting the immediate needs of their clients, the students. We often hear, for example, that students should as a result of their schooling develop to their full potential, recognize their own worth as individuals, and become productive citizens in a democracy. In fact, this bit of folklore is a half-truth. It is true to the extent that the school as a bureaucracy tries to meet students' needs within a predetermined and larger context—a context with its own value commitments, techniques for reaching such commitments, and evaluative procedures which indicate whether or not such commitments are being reached.

We have simply identified this larger context as the governmental context. That is, we can best understand the school and its operations if we view the school as a governmental organization. By this we mean that the schools are designed to implement the objectives of state, local, and federal governments and as such are an expression of these governments. The three governments or governing bodies provide the financial support for school operations and designate for all practical purposes how, when, and where the money will and will not be spent. Furthermore, governmental bodies decide how many days school will be open each year, what subjects will and will not be taught, and who is qualified to teach such subjects. In short, the governmental bodies interested in formal education control both the entrance and exit of members of the school as a socio-political system and also influence the quality of existence between the entrance and exit points. Though teachers and other school personnel may influence such decisions, final authority always rests with one of the three governmental bodies—local, state, or federal.

Here are some of the ways a first year teacher who is concerned with the needs of students has already had her role prescribed by three governmental bodies. First, let us look at how university preparation of teachers is influenced by governmental bodies. The prospective teacher's certification is granted by the state which in turn has prescribed a course of study for the future teacher. In the event that a prospective teacher may need financial support while doing university study, the federal government may lend such support.

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The teaching situation in the first year teacher's school is even more rigidly prescribed by local, state, and federal governments. For example, the following are some of the things that have been decided for the teacher:

1. The minimum number of days, hours, and minutes she'll spend with students regardless of each student's individual needs and desires (state government influence);
2. the subjects to be taught (mainly state government influence);
3. most of the "approved" teaching materials such as textbooks (state and local government influence);
4. the way student progress or lack of progress is to be reported (local government influence); and
5. the curriculum (state and local government influence).

It is true that there are some possible variations as to how our first year teacher can meet the individual needs of students, but as the preceding list indicates, time, place, and to a large extent the means for meeting students' needs have been prescribed by governmental acts.

As a decision-maker, you might at this point say, "So what!! I already knew that governments influenced schools." In our view, the most important point is that "the great distinction between government and other organized undertaking is to be found in the wholly political character of government."[1] The political character of government dictates that the order of a particular decision is a result of a political evaluation through anticipation of popular reaction. The level in the organization at which a decision is made, therefore, will ve determined by an evaluation of the degree of controversy the decision is likely to generate. The overriding variable in the decision will be the assessment of public reation to ie rather than its efficacy or soundness from an educational standpoint. The following example illustrates this principle:

> A senior English teacher after assessing the needs and the availability of current novels appropriate to those needs and interests decides to assign Catcher in the Rye. Her colleagues in the English department fully concur in her selection, but many of the students' parents are upset with language in the book and protest to school authorities including the local school board. The school board rules that since there are many other books dealing with the life of an adolescent—books less likely to disturb the public—Catcher in the Rye is not the best selection for required reading in the English class.

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[1] Paul H. Appleby, Policy and Administration (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1949), p. 12.

This example clearly demonstrates the extent to which schools are influenced by public reaction and in turn how decisions about curriculum are much more than educational decisions made by professionally qualified educators. Such decisions are always viewed politically within the school organization by the school board which is immediately subject to public reaction because of its elective nature. Those who fail to reckon with the political nature of decision-making in schools run the risk of being both politically and educationally ineffective.

In the previous example the level of controversy was contained within the community and the decision was made by a local government—the school board. There are numerous examples of decisions directly affecting the school curriculum and instruction because the level of controversy was wider in scope thus touching the state and local governments. The following focuses on state government:

> Legislators in the State of California were bombarded with letters from their constituents about the morality of youth in the state. Congressmen and others made political hay out of this interest in their speeches and passed the following legislation concerning schools' responsibility for teaching manners and morals:
>
> > Each teacher shall endeavor to impress upon the minds of the pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice, patriotism, and a true comprehension of the rights, duties, and dignity of American citizenship, to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity, and falsehood, and to instruct them in manners and morals and the principles of a free government.[2]
>
> Principals in California must sign affidavits saying that instruction in manners and morals occurs in their schools.

This decision by the California legislature demonstrates that the manners and morals problem was viewed by the public to be of such consequence that it could not be effectively handled at the local level alone. The essentially political nature of the decision as opposed to the educational nature of the decision is indicated in the immediate charge to the schools to deal with the manners and morals problems among youth. Professional educators were not the primary group involved in this decision to have the schools deal with the manners and morals problem. They were likewise not the group who decided that this was a legitimate function of the school as compared to other social agencies, whether this was a top priority matter compared to other priorities in the school curriculum, or whether teachers were qualified for such instruction. (A construction crew, for example, might be better prepared to teach youth to avoid idleness.) Drivers' training courses, home economics courses, and drug abuse courses serve as other examples of issues and problems state legislatures have directed schools to include in the curriculum.

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[2] Education Code. Sacramento, California: State of California, 1963, Vol. I, p. 356.

The federal government is also actively involved in decisions that affect education in the schools. Most recently the federal government has exhibited much concern over busing children out of their neighborhoods in order to balance ethnic compositions of schools. From an educational standpoint, there is little evidence to indicate good or ill that results from busing.[3] Busing, however, is a volatile national political issue and both Congress and the President seem determined to act on the basis of their perceptions of public reaction. Thus the decision is taken out of the hands of educators and their role becomes one of reacting to governmental legislation.

We have made the following points with regard to schools as governmental organizations:

1. decisions in governmental organizations such as schools are political decisions, which simply means that such decisions are structured by an assessment of public reaction;
2. the anticipated public reaction determines the level at which a decision is made, which means that the more intense the reaction is projected to be, the higher the level at which the decision will be made, and conversely; and finally,
3. the kind and quality of decisions made by governmental organizations are influenced primarily by anticipated public reaction rather than by their educational quality or soundness.[4]

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[3] The following alternatives, for example, may be sounder educationally but not politically viable: (1) triple the expenditures for pupils in inner city and distressed area rural schools and provide many special services appropriate to such pupils; (2) provide that no federal funds can be used for housing construction unless occupancy is based on a ratio consistent with the city's racial mix; and/or implement a voucher plan whereby students may elect to attend any school of their choice.

[4] The inconsistency of the federal government, particularly the United States Office of Education, with regard to plans and programs most deserving support serves as an example. Education for the gifted, creativity, integration, compensatory education, vocational education, the right to read, accountability, and behavioral objectives were key cacch-words of the last decade. It is little wonder that educationists are accused of fadism, for they reflect the fact that political winds blow from alternating directions with different intensity from year to year.

BUREAUCRATIC AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL MODELS AND THEIR APPROPRIATENESS FOR GOVERNANCE, CURRICULUM, AND INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

Thus far, we have demonstrated that the objectives for our schools and the functions they are expected to perform are primarily determined by political forces in the form of local, state, and federal governments. As form follows function, it is now necessary to describe the particular form of organization that our schools take. We have identified this form as that of a bureaucracy.

The Bureaucratic Organizational Model

It is little wonder that schools are primarily organized as bureaucracies, for bureaucratic organization seems to be the most effective organizational scheme for carrying out the functions of government.[5]

The term "bureaucracy" has a negative connotation in the minds of most people in our society, for they equate it with endless red tape, gross inefficiency, administrative inflexibility, dehumanization, and a host of other equally unattractive characteristics. But to the social scientist,[6] bureaucracy is one means of organizing human activity, a type of formal organization with the following characteristics:

1. the detailed sub-division of labor, such labor to be performed by many different highly trained specialists;
2. general rules and regulations to insure objective and impersonal treatment of the organization's clients and to coordinate the efforts of the organization's specialist workers to promote an orderly, systematic, and rational means of providing services; and
3. hierarchical relationships designed to insure the coordination of efforts of the specialists by providing clear and rational allocation of authority and responsibility.[7]

Why then are schools as governmental organizations organized bureaucratically? The first reason is that bureaucracy provides for disciplined compliance with rules, regulations, and directives from superiors. There is no need for debate and discourse about who has the authority to make decisions and direct the activities of others. The superintendent clearly has the legal authority to direct the activities of the principal, the principal has the legal authority to direct the activities of the teachers, and the teachers clearly have the legal authority to direct the activities of the students.

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[5] One might disagree with the effectiveness of bureaucracy as a form of government organization, but one cannot argue as to the universality of the bureaucratic model. All governmental organizations are simply organized bureaucratically.

[6] See Max Weber, et al., The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947).

[7] Bertram M. Gross, The Managing of Organizations (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 49.

Secondly, the hierarchical organization of a bureaucracy provides clear lines of authority and responsibility so that individuals can readily be held accountable for their actions. In any organization primarily concerned with public reaction, such fixing of responsibility appears to be essential. Somebody's "head has to roll" when things go wrong.

A third reason for organizing schools bureaucratically is that bureaucracy seems best suited to organizations whose ends are discreet and measurable, whose objectives are clear and generally agreed upon, and whose causal relationships between means and ends are readily demonstrable.[8] At the risk of oversimplification, the end of those in power in government is to maintain their power, the means to maintain that power is favorable public reaction to governmental acts, and the causal relationship between means and ends is an obvious one: you don't stay in power if the people don't generally approve of what you are doing.

But does this really apply to schools as governmental organizations? Do we really have agreement on objectives for the schools? And, do we know the means to use in order to achieve such objectives if they are agreed upon? In other words, do we know what is good education for a particular child and do we know how to achieve such an education?

In order to answer these questions, we need to make a distinction between governance and curriculum and instruction. Governance encompasses (and translates) the formal, legal rules and regulations which control the overall operation of the organization. In other words, governance decisions provide a framework in which daily decisions are made. Curriculum and instruction refers to that area within the school as a socio-political system where learning experiences that students encounter occur. For our purposes in this book we are not making fine distinctions between curriculum and instruction although we recognize that such distinctions exist. In order to clarify the distinction between governance and curriculum and instruction, we have outlined some of the decisions that fall into each of the categories:

Governance	Curriculum and Instruction
Rules concerning health and safety in the school.	The choice of course titles and content for such courses.
Directives concerning the maintenance of buildings.	Sequence and scope of the curriculum.
The decision to initiate a bond issue and particular issues to be voted on.	Choice of textbooks and other instructional materials.
	The establishment of seminars

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[8] Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 206-210.

Particular accounting procedures for the receipt and dispersal of funds.
The formation of committees designed to maintain a working structure for the year.
for honor students.
Decisions with respect to ability grouping.
The decision to adopt team teaching as an alternative in ninth grade English.

Governance as discussed previously is appropriately a function of a bureaucratic organization. That is, when the primary concern of the organization is public reaction, bureaucracy provides the appropriate structure for dealing with such reaction, for disciplined compliance, hierarchial arrangements, and a causal relationship between means and ends all exist.

If we are to judge the appropriateness of the bureaucratic model for schools by their stated objectives, it is obvious that such a model falls short for curriculum and instruction and in fact the educational process itself. Commonly cited educational goals include the following: effective citizenship, command of the fundamental processes, worthy home membership, worthy use of leisure time, the development of ethical character, and the promotion of good health.[9] It should be apparent that these general, abstract objectives are not most appropriately or efficiently carried out under the bureaucratic model. The reason for this is that they cannot be achieved keeping in mind the characteristics of a bureaucracy, for with such general objectives:

1. the ends are not discreetly measurable due to the abstractness of the objectives;
2. the means for reaching the objectives are not agreed upon; and
3. the causal relationship between means and ends is not readily or concretely demonstrable.

As Blau and Scott indicate, "When the overall responsibility of the organization cannot be broken down into fairly routine specialized tasks... (such as) research, care of the ill, case work services, expert judgments of professionals rather than disciplined compliance with the commands of superiors must govern operations in the interest of efficiency."[10] (Parentheses ours) Tasks designed to meet the general educational objectives such as worthy home membership and effective citizenship cannot be broken down into routine, specialized tasks. Hence, professional judgment rather than disciplined compliance with orders from superiors is the appropriate pattern for reaching more general, abstract objectives. Consequently, if these general objectives are the ones schools actually hope to reach, the bureaucratic model is both inefficient and ineffective.

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[9] See, for example, The Central Purpose of American Education quoted in the National Education Association Journal, Sept. 1961.

[10] Blau and Scott, op. cit., p. 297.

But it still remains true that schools do employ the bureaucratic model for instruction and development of curriculum as well as governance. The ultimate judges of what good instruction is or what curriculum should be are the chief administrators in the school system rather than the teachers.[11] Chief administrators control the reward and sanction system for the most part rather than fellow teachers.

Let us now examine the actual objective(s) for schools as determined by the operation of schools. According to the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, "There is a unique, central role for the rational powers of an individual, however, for upon them depends his ability to achieve his personal goals and to fulfill his obligations to society."[12] The natural extension of this central role for education is for the school to produce successful students. Successful students are easily measured for they make A's and B's rather than D's and F's, they score high on standardized tests, and they conform to school rules and regulations. In other words, they learn to behave well in the role of student.

The bureaucratic model is appropriate for schools when they have as their primary goal the production of incipient scholars,[13] for the end is measurable (the production of successful students), the means are known (teach courses in such a way that students can complete successfully examinations and standardized tests), causation is known since only students who take courses and do well on examinations are successful students, and individuals' perceptions of their progress are of little use compared to their actual performance on standardized tests and the like.

In summary, the bureaucratic model is best suited for curriculum and instruction if the overriding objective of the schools is to produce the professional student. However, schools claim that their objectives are much broader than this, and in our judgment they should be. Yet, as indicated before, general, more abstract objectives do not lend themselves to the bureaucratic model. This then raises the question as to what model is appropriate for meeting those broad objectives that go beyond producing incipient scholars. What model would be inclusive enough to support objectives like the following ones cited by well-known curriculum theorist James B. Macdonald:

> Schools should foster the development of human beings so that they
>
> 1. are committed to the value and worth of each and every human being—as the central value of existence,

---

[11] As indicated previously, governing bodies and their representatives, the administrators, set the conditions or establish the basic environment for curriculum and instruction. They determine class size, student composition in classes, number of days of instruction, the schedule for such instruction, and who will teach.

[12] The Central Purpose of American Education, op. cit., p. 9.

[13] Beginning scholars.

2. are aware of potentiality which lies within themselves, and the social, intellectual, physical, and emotional possibilities of their environment for furthering and creating potentiality, and
3. are aware of the possibility of transcending their present personal and social situations, and are skilled in the processes of seeking transcendence?[14]

The Professional Organizational Model

The professional organizational model is probably less familiar to you, the reader, but it is found in organizations such as hospitals, universities, and research institutes. The following three characteristics differentiate the professional model from the bureaucratic model.

First, the professional organization is primarily concerned with the discovery or application of knowledge. Consequently its basic functions cannot be programmed and, therefore, cannot be carried out efficiently by hierarchical arrangement and compliance with administrative orders.

Secondly, professional organizations may have within them many nonprofessional and semi-professional workers who may be organized in the traditional bureaucratic manner, but basic decisions about functions are made by the professionals themselves.

Thirdly, professional organizations emphasize achievement of objectives rather than disciplined compliance to a highly programmed process for achieving objectives. Processes used in professional organizations can therefore be highly flexible and individualistic as the professionals' judgment dictates.

The critical distinctions between the professional and bureaucratic models will be even clearer when viewed side by side:

Bureaucratic Model	Professional Model
1. The bureaucrat's foremost responsibility is to represent and promote the interests of his organization.	1. The professional is bound by a norm of service and a code of ethics to represent the welfare of his clients.
2. The bureaucrat gets his authority from a legal contract backed by the rights and privileges of his office.	2. The professional's source of authority comes from his technical competence and expertise and knowledge.
3. The bureaucrat's decisions are governed by disciplined compliance with directives from superiors.	3. The professional's decisions are governed by internalized professional standards.

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[14] James B. Macdonald, "The High School in Human Terms: Curriculum Design," in Humanizing the Secondary School, edited by Norman K. Hamilton and J. Galen Saylor (Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1969), p. 48.

4. The court of last resort for appeal of a decision by a bureaucrat is higher management.	4. The court of last resort for appeal of a decision by a professional is his professional colleagues.

Figure 2-1. Bureaucratic Model vs. Professional Model.[15]

Let us now look at the difference it makes if a decision is made primarily according to the bureaucratic or professional model. We ask you, the decision-maker, to place yourself in the position of a visitor-inquirer in a school with which you are familiar. Place a check in the column which indicates that a particular decision is made for the most part by a teacher's colleagues (the professional model) or the school administration, that is, supervisors, principals, superintendents (the bureaucratic model):

	Teachers	Administrators
1. The qualifications for the assignment of teachers to a school. (Who should teach at what school?)		
2. The evaluation of a teacher's effectiveness as it relates to receiving tenure and getting salary increases.		
3. The decision as to which texts are to be used in the classroom.		
4. The decision that Johnny Jones would profit more from six weeks study in libraries and museums rather than in school.		
5. The decision to experiment with giving no grades and having no report cards for one school term.		
6. The decision that Jimmy Jackson should forgo reading groups for ten weeks since he has developed such a negative attitude toward reading.		
7. The decision to depart radically from the state curriculum guide for a group of seventh graders for whom the guide in the judgment of the teacher seems totally inappropriate.		
8. The decision to invite the Chairman of the local Black Panther Party to address the students in an eighth grade class.		

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[15] Blau and Scott, op. cit., p. 297.

9. The decision as to whether or not a teacher has properly handled a discipline problem.
10. The decision as to whether or not a novel selected by a tenth grade English teacher is appropriate reading for the students.

It should be clear if the reader studies more than one school that schools vary as to the degree of professionalism and bureaucratization that exists in them. It is, however, our contention that most schools will lean more toward the bureaucratic model than the professional model. (Most of your checks were probably placed under administrators rather than teachers.) This is to be expected since all schools are government organizations and as such are organized bureaucratically for instruction since their primary objective is to produce "good" students or incipient scholars.

A New Organizational Model for Schools

In our discussion of bureaucratic and professional models, we noted that schools are primarily organized bureaucratically to respond appropriately to public reaction. However, we seriously questioned whether or not schools should be organized bureaucratically for curriculum and instruction if they are to do more than to meet the simplistic objective of producing good students or incipient scholars. Our bias is obvious for we believe schools should do more and this section of the book proposes a new organizational model for schools which combines the professional and bureaucratic models. Such a combination is necessary if schools are to do justice to their clients and meet the needs of the inner city, suburban, and rural child in our society.

First, let us recognize that you cannot eliminate bureaucracy from the schools for it is a requisite of governmental organizations and as noted earlier, schools are governmental organizations. And yet, the bureaucratic model is patently inappropriate for meeting the needs of a student population as diverse as the one we have today. If schools are to achieve the kinds of objectives recommended by James B. Macdonald, cited previously, and others, then the professional model is more appropriate than the bureaucratic model. We are in fact faced with an organizational dilemma which cannot be resolved but can be reconciled or endured. An example of this dilemma on a more personal plane is the young person whose religious beliefs differ radically from his parents' beliefs. At the same time, he loves his parents and they love him. The close relationship with his parents is something he does not want to relinquish nor can he in all conscience subscribe to their religious beliefs. This dilemma cannot be resolved for he cannot accept their beliefs and his parents cannot accept his beliefs. The dilemma can, however, be reconciled if parents and son tacitly agree to openly avoid confrontation over religious beliefs and respect the privacy of each others' beliefs.

An example of such a reconciliation between the bureaucratic and professional models is found in public hospitals. The public hospital is dependent upon the local and/or state, and/or federal governments for support, and accountable to those governments for compliance with their rules and regulations. At the same time, the public hospital provides treatment for its patients within a model more professional than bureaucratic. The medical profession itself decides who can practice in the hospital, what treatments are appropriate for what patients, and the competence of their colleagues, the medical doctors.

The challenge to those of us in education is to reconcile the dilemma of the bureaucratic versus the professional model in a manner similar to the way that the dilemma has been reconciled in public hospitals and other governmental organizations. As a public organization, public reaction is the critical factor since support of the organization is dependent on favorable public reaction. The organization which is professional decides first what is good practice and then convinces the public of the efficacy of that practice. The organization which is bureaucratic weighs public reaction first and then institutes those practices least likely to cause public furor. It is our contention that schools tend to adopt the latter rather than the former position. For example, too often the superintendent attempts to influence instruction and curriculum so that they will meet the least resistance from the public rather than accepting the professional judgments of his teachers about the soundness of curriculum and instruction practices, after which he is ready to meet any adverse public reaction.

CONCLUSION

We have made the following points: (1) schools are government organizations and consequently are organized bureaucratically; (2) as government organizations, schools must anticipate and deal effectively with public reaction; (3) the bureaucratic model is appropriate for the governance of schools but less than satisfactory for curriculum and instruction matters; (4) the professional model is more appropriate for the curriculum development and instructional aspect of school organization; and (5) what we need is a new model for our schools, a model that effects the marriage of the bureaucratic and professional models.

SUMMARY OUTLINE OF THE SCHOOL AS A BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

Schools as Governmental Organizations

Local, State, and Federal Governments and Their Influence on Schools

Governmental Organizations Base Decisions on Anticipation of Public Reaction

Bureaucratic and Professional Organizational Models and Their Appropriatness for Governance, Curriculum, and Instruction in Schools

The Bureaucratic Organizational Model

The Professional Organizational Model

A New Organizational Model for Schools

SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPING AN INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A person who wants to elicit information from an expert and who realizes that personal interaction facilitates the implementation of this objective, will do well to prepare carefully for an interview. The individual to be interviewed should be chosen thoughtfully. The interviewer should expect to "feel comfortable" with the expert so that rapport can be established.

Here are some steps to keep in mind:

1. Think about whom you want to interview. Try to get someone who is knowledgeable about the overall picture or who is concerned with your particular area of concentration.
2. Construct your questions carefully, deciding whether you are seeking yes or no responses or open ended responses. Open ended responses will tell you more.
3. Choose your words carefully. Do not be too formal or informal.
4. Avoid leading questions such as, "Should the county begin to plan for eventual consolidation of the schools, since consolidation is inevitable?" Make your questions neutral and open ended.
5. Limit each question to one idea, i.e. ask one question at a time.
6. Practice the interview question on someone, such as a member of this class, to see if they are clear and understandable.
7. Be polite and respectful. Dress appropriately. Limit your time in the administrator's office; remember, the person who is an administrator usually has a full agenda for the day.

A SELF INVENTORY OF BELIEFS CONCERNING PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOLS

by
Dr. Dale Brubaker and Dr. Roland Nelson

To record your responses to the following statements, write the code on right side of the page. If you strongly agree with a statement, write SA beside its corresponding number on the sheet; if you agree, write A; if you disagree, write D; and if you strongly disagree, write SD.

1. The teacher is primarily an independent person who can do for the most part what he or she pleases once the classroom door is closed. ______
2. Schools are fortunate compared to many other organizations for they are subject to little influence for government(s). ______
3. Since schools and teachers are largely independent, the major hurdle to making changes in schools is teachers' perceptions, perceptions that are conservative with respect to change. ______
4. School administrators are usually bureaucrats for they cater to those governmental officials, such as the school board, immedately above them on the bureaucratic ladder. ______
5. Unlike administrators, teachers are professionals who deal with public reaction after they make their decisions rather than anticipating public reaction. ______
6. School administrators have more in common with politicians in their occupational role than do teachers. ______
7. Fortunately for local school districts, the state government has a good deal of influence on them but federal laws have little or no effect on them. ______
8. The greater the influence of government on an organization, the more bureaucratic the organization will be. ______
9. It is of little value for the decision-maker in schools to make a distinction between governance functions and curriculum and instruction ______
10. Schools, like hospitals, have bureaucratic and professional structures operating side-by-side with the professional structure clearly having the prime authority. ______
11. Students should be involved in the setting of objectives but not in establishg the means for reaching objectives. ______
12. All organizations confine their members which simply means that they force them to be in certain places for a specified period of time regardless of their personal wishes. ______
13. Teachers, like other professionals, tailor their confinement practices to the individual needs and desires of their clients. ______

14. Administrators usually interpret school board decisions more liberally than the school board would and teachers in turn interpret administrative decisions more liberally than do administrators. ______

15. Teachers usually define training skills such as reading, writing, speaking, and modes of thinking in much the same way as their students do with such skills adjusted to the socio-economic and family backgrounds of students. ______

16. Curriculum materials such as textbooks rarely reflect the real interests of students. ______

17. Minority group students, meaning those students who do not have the background or interest to become successful students in schools, should nevertheless be forced to learn such skills in order to "get ahead" when they graduate. ______

18. Indoctrination (the act of influencing a person in such a way that he behaves as you want him to behave without questioning whether or not that is the way he want to behave or should behave) is employed in highly rigid organizations such as the armed forces but rarely used in schools. ______

19. Students have a good deal to say about the way they are sorted or classified in schools for the "cream" in any organization tends to rise to the top. ______

20. The confinement, indoctrination, sorting, and training functions as practiced by schools are consistent with the objective of providing the conditions for personal or self development as defined by most students. ______

SAMPLE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

Suggestions for improving ______________________________

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

Suggestions for improving ______________________________

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

MODULE IV - CURRICULUM/INSTRUCTION

Rationale

Curriculum development in the public schools has witnessed vast change in recent years. Although much of this curricular evolution is merely verbal, many progressive schools have actually attempted to implement new designs and new ideas into their overall curriculum structure.

It is the purpose of this module to acquaint future teachers with the various types of curriculum organizations in order that they may develop rational decisions concerning the advantages and disadvantages of each type, and to examine current concerns in the area of curriculum and instruction.

Objectives

The student will be able, after reading from designated sources and visiting an elementary school, to demonstrate his/her knowledge concerning concepts and basic forms of school organization.

Materials

Abramowitz, Mildred W. "How to Start an Alternative School and Where To Go From There"

Jones, Rolland W. "We Move Toward Options in Schooling"

McEwin, Kenneth and Joyce Lawrence. "The Middle School: An Emerging Concept"

Proctor, W.A. "Newark Living Studies Center: A School for Disruptive Students"

Ragan, Wilson, and Ragan. "Organizing to Maximize Learning," Chapter 5 from Teaching in the New Elementary School (Text)

Resnick, Henry. "High School With No Walls: It's a Happening in Philadelphia"

School Visitation Form

Selected Bibliographies
  Humanistic Bibliographies
  Middle School
  Open Education

Environment

Library

Elementary School in Watauga or nearby county; schedule of times and dates to be posted. In Watauga County, ASU policy insists that students must go with the group at scheduled times. See posted schedule of visit times.

Room for discussion group - time and dates to be posted.

Activities and Assessment

"C" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read pages 91-109 in Ragan, Wilson and Ragan;
2. Read:
   Abramowitz, pages 215-223.
   Jones, pages 221-223.
   McEwin and Lawrence, pages 225-227.
   Proctor, pages 229-231.
3. Take Test C.

"B" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read pages 91-109 in Ragan, Wilson and Ragan;
2. Read:
   Abramowitz, pages 215-223.

Jones, pages 221-223.
McEwin and Lawrence, pages 225-227.
Proctor, pages 229-231.

3. Take Test C;
4. Visit a school and complete the "School Visitation Form within one day of the visit;
5. Read Resnick, pages 223-238.
6. Write a descriptive paper on the following kinds of school organizations: vertical, horizontal, inter-class, and intraclass, "no walls" groupings (2 typewritten pages).

"A" level of competency

All of #1-6 above, plus:

7. Working with a partner read articles of your choosing in the Belk Library on "Open Education" or on "Humanizing Education." Each partner will have read at least two articles. Find a partner by signing up on the bulletin board;
8. Then, a paper will be jointly written:

If the paper is on open education, it should relate to the following:

What is open education?
In schools implementing open education, discuss use of space, grouping, staffing, and curriculum organization/instruction.

If the paper is on humanizing education it should relate to the following:

Is the term, "Humanizing education" synonomous with open education? Why or why not? Explain.
How are some school systems humanizing the middle/junior high and secondary school? Be specific.
How might an effort to humanize the classroom affect the curriculum/instruction of the classroom?

HOW TO START AN ALTERNATIVE SCHOOL AND WHERE TO GO FROM THERE

by
Mildred W. Abramowitz

The school was a Junior High School[1] in an area of the Bronx from which Jews and Italians had fled and which now had a student body composed of 65 percent Puerto Rican and 35 percent Black. I had been its principal for six years. When I arrived I had found the school floundering and shaky because it had not adequately coped with the great change in its school population. Most of the staff members had been there for quite some time and they were doing what they had done when the school had been very different five years before.

I spent the first two years working with some of the excellent school people I found on the staff and with a very supportive superintendent[2] to achieve order, system, quiet, and a sense of standards and a sense of purpose. As a result of our efforts, even after only two years we had reversed our neighborhood reputation so that some parents and guardians were falsifying addresses and lying about home situations in order to get their youngsters into our school or not be transferred from it because of changes in address.

Although I found this most gratifying, I felt very uneasy in that we had order and system and purpose and appreciation on the part of students, parents, and teachers but we did not seem to be making significant headway in producing youngsters better equipped to deal with one of the major demands of first class citizenship -- the speaking, writing, and reading of standard English. Therefore I spent the next four years in two major directions: (a) building a staff of persons who would feel dissatisfied with conditions as they were, and (b) educating and encouraging the staff to try new ideas of motivation within our usual constraints of lack of funds and of much overcrowding.

Building the staff was extremely difficult as we were living in the days of acute teacher shortage and our school was comparatively so unattractive, inaccessible, and uncomfortable for teachers. We handled this problem by working closely with some local college professors[3] to make our school itself the place for the college classroom and to use our own young teachers as recruiting agents to bring in others who were interested in trying to change things.

We also involved ourselves, myself actively included, in the teaching process. We took the young teachers we had already invested so much time in and the recruits they brought and the student teachers as

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[1] William W. Niles Junior High School, 118, Bronx, New York.

[2] Superintendent Charles M. Shapp, District 10, New York City.

[3] Professors Lilyan Ruderman and Charles Banks of Lehman College, Bronx, New York.

our staff so that eventually one-third of our faculty was acquired in this way. A considerable portion of our more experienced teachers also elected to join us in trying many alternatives to the traditional program -- exchanges with a suburban school,[4] securing full scholarships and support for our eighth and ninth grade pupils in private preparatory high schools,[5] teaching through drama,[6] a bilingual school-within-a school,[7] consumer education,[8] bringing New York City's first-class music, art, and ballet into our school,[9] citizenship voting education,[10] Hunter Friend program,[11] training in inquiry and research writing,[12] Career Days,[13] graduation exercises that would reflect the accomplishments of youngsters and the "warmth" that existed between teachers and administrators with students, values clarification as a teaching tool,[14] open classroom techniques, four consecutive half-day teacher-run workshops every January, cluster teaching, more concentrated time spent on science and art, planning a way to make all industrial arts a center of curriculum for both sexes on an equal basis.

ADAPTING IDEAS TO NEEDS

These are some of the things we did and these years helped to give a good segment of our teachers as well as some of our administrators the experience and security needed to be open to try new ideas and to adapt these ideas to our needs. I was continually looking for teachers who would say, "I have an idea!" or, preferably, "We have an idea!" When these statements finally began to come, it was important to treat them with respect, consideration, and proper planning, and to get them launched -- even if they were to fail. None of them really failed (some ended when the interested teacher left the school) but we did manage to convey that it would not matter if they did.

Finally in the early spring of my sixth year as principal, four teachers came to see me to express their dissatisfaction with everything we had already tried and to say they wanted to do "more"and that they would like to work as a group. I had been interested in the alternative school development in the white affluent suburb of Great Neck, New York. After describing this development to the four teachers, we went to visit it along with the assistant principal who was put in charge of the program.[15] The six of us then spent several "talking sessions" with the idea. One of the four teachers was made leader[16] and from then on the teachers met by themselves to draw up their purpose, methods to accomplish it, and evaluate what they had done. We were all aware that the project could not depend upon any more teachers or facilities from the local board of education. This meant that my job was to reallocate existing resources and to get support from the community for extras that would develop in the initial stage. The teachers decided to make their purpose better school attendance and more excitement about going to school on the part of youngsters who they already knew had the potential to be educated for a better life than the one for which they seemed to be headed.

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[4] Great Neck North Junior High School -- the exchange lasted seven years.

[5] A Better Chance (Rockefeller Foundation) and Exeter.

[6] Phoenix Theatre Project using Niles Junior High School.

[7] Science, math, and social studies taught in Spanish.

[8] Ninth grade social studies made Consumer Economics.

[9] Harkness and Metropolitan Opera Ballets, New York Philharmonic.

[10] Using real voting procedures to conduct school government elections.

[11] A "big sister" or "big brother" coming every day from Hunter (now Lehman) College.

[12] Three-year development program through social studies classes.

[13] Bringing the Bronx community into the school to open the world of jobs and careers.

[14] Workshop conducted on school time with volunteer teachers, demonstration classes.

I agreed to their purpose and made it clear that they were in charge of which youngsters entered and stayed in the program and how to go about selecting these students and getting them in. The curriculum planning they were to do with the assistant principal in charge of the "school-within-a-school." On their own they approached the rest of the faculty for nominations, interviewed all suggested, conferred to make their selection, and visited each home of a child who wished to try the new type of school, taking the child with them for the conference with the parent. In this way they got their enrollment of 45 with a waiting list of 10. They then planned to meet over the summer, to participate in some summer workshops, to visit more alternative schools and then to survey our own building for a location.

The assistant principal and I helped with all this. We decided on a school-within-a-school where 45 youngsters would have their entire day with the four teachers who represented the disciplines of math, science, social studies, and English. The rest of the staff was reallocated to make this pupil-teacher ratio possible and the decision was made to close down one home economics foods shop that was next to a smaller room that had once been a family living room. Both rooms were located at the end of a hall near a back stairway of the school that went down directly to the lunchroom and backyard.

All of these decisions were made by May. Over the summer I prepared a statement of purpose and means of accomplishment within our resources and plan of evaluation for our superintendent and community board of education. I did ask that the superintendent's staff help us with the evaluation and with funds for supplies, transportation and that, if we were successful, he consider asking Albany to help us get located outside the regular school the following year. The teachers were assured that they had the right to fail and that they would not be be evaluated by reading and math tests in June.[17]

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[15] Mrs. Claudia C. Macari who also taught the values clarification workshop with me.

[16] Eugene Scher was trained in sociology and also had the temperament needed to lead. The others were Susan Fauer, Richard Acosta, and Paul Bablove.

The assistant principal and I met with the four teachers before school opened the next fall to assess what we had done over the summer. The teachers decided to present the problem of room arrangement and decoration (the main room was filled with antiquated cooking equipment) to the students who, in turn, made decisions, painted, built furniture, and brought things in. The students also decided on a name -- Camelot -- as an expression of what they felt the school could mean to them. They helped the teachers make initial plans for such things as individual diagnostic testing in each subject area,[18] how to structure their day, how to group, how long to study something, and what "rules" of behavior to follow.

The teachers ate lunch together, spent many Sunday afternoons together, and met with the assistant principal at least once a week and with me once a month. They quickly adjusted to the idea of counseling individual pupils and flexibly grouping the pupils for better instructional purposes in different subject areas. It was not long before they were excited, too, about the idea of pursuing subjects never before in our curriculum: anthropology, ancient history, photography, guitar playing, newspaper reading, TV analysis, ceramics, model building, gourmet cooking, etc. These ideas came from the students and then our Camelot teachers began to invite in various members of our own faculty who could help in these areas.

A CONTINUING ASSESSMENT

Staff members had much more of a problem in adjustment in getting used to the lack of the usual teacher structure, a curriculum to follow, and the idea that they were free to ignore bells and could use any place in the entire City of New York as their classroom. It really took the entire first year to get them to begin to use the freedom they really had. During the second year they began to leave the building and build a richer, more flexible curriculum. During the school year certain youngsters were dropped from the program either at their own or at their parents' request, or because the teachers felt the program was not doing enough for the pupil. Substitutions were then made from the waiting list.

The teachers did not wait until June to evaluate and neither did the students. They were constantly evaluating and continually excited by the progress they saw. We knew we had accomplished our stated purpose -- better attendance and enthusiasm about going to school -- by daily observation. Even as early as November, an evening meeting was held to which parents were invited and to which they came in unprecedented numbers. Camelot students were the speakers and answered any question posed by the audience. One not-so-friendly parent said, "I simply do not believe that these students could have been 'turned on' like this in so short a time! This must have been rehearsed!"

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[17] I knew, of course, that should we subsequently get a grant from Albany we would have to be evaluated by reading and math tests.

[18] The students themselves asked for such tests and for periodic testing so that they could "see" their progress

No one wanted to stay home even when he was really sick. Parents who never came to school before took time off from work to come and see what was "going on there." Students would never be absent even if the parents insisted that they mind a younger child. Youngsters who never read began to read; those who had never spoken up before adults began to do so; those whom we thought could not express their ideas and feelings in writing began to do so; some who were rated as "Grade 4" in math were doing Algebra; and those whom we had thought never could be interested in anything not directly connected with their own lives were enthusiastic about such things as Greek history, anthropology, and architecture.

We did not need standardized tests or evaluation teams to tell us that Camelot was a success. (Maybe these instruments would have "failed" us.) The teachers and the parents knew these children "before" and "after" and I have found these judgments to be most reliable. I knew personally, too, because I held values clarification sessions with Camelot once a week and could therefore watch growth. I was able to get a local department store[19] to contribute money to get the whole group to the country for a winter weekend along with the exchange group from the white affluent suburb.[20]

We also spent this second year persuading our new superintendent[21] to support our idea of getting funded to establish ourselves in a separate building with money for more transportation to move to areas of learning inside and outside of our city. The assistant principal and I wrote the proposal and, with the Camelot teachers, we combed nearby areas in the Bronx and were able to recommend several sites. The superintendent supported our proposal and Camelot did receive operational funds during its third year although it was never able to move to a separate site.

WHAT WE LEARNED

At the end of Camelot's second year I left to become a high school principal and this decision naturally caused me to put together what I had learned from my eight years at Niles Junior High School and also what I had learned about alternative programs. I felt confirmed in my feelings that:

1. The teachers should volunteer to be in such a program, and those selected should be experienced as really good teachers in the traditional program who are dissatisfied with their results and want to try other methods. They should also be people who have empathy and sensitivity to pupils, who know what they believe about teaching, and who are apt to

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[19] Alexander's Department Store.

[20] This was a unique venture in the State of New York and is a tribute to the trust the alternative school and the exchange had already inspired in both sets of parents.

[21] Dr. Theodore Weisenthal.

be self-revealing persons. It is also essential that there be no "prima donnas," no matter how good they are. They must be able to plan and work together and they must also like and admire and respect each other. Without the "right" teachers it is best not to have a program.

2. The teachers selected should be allowed to make the decisions regarding the student body and together with their students on the curriculum to work toward. The latter, however, must be done cooperatively with the administration so as to provide for continuous growth for the pupils and for the teachers in the program. For example, if the Camelot program in Niles Junior High School as I knew it in 1970-72 was essentially the same in 1972-74, I would say it was a failure. If a child is going to be in Camelot three years, his or her learning must grow sequentially in these three years. The same must be true of the teachers in the program.

3. Until the beliefs of the rest of the staff change to accept the reasons and understandings for alternative schooling as an option for some students, it is better to have the alternative out of sight and out of close contact with the rest of the school. Otherwise teachers feel threatened either that they are not doing as well or that they are "next" whether they like it or not and this can lead to sabotaging in subtle but quite devastating ways.

4. Alternative schooling is not for all students -- so many are doing well in traditional methods and programming -- but there is a significant percentage of students and parents who need and want options.

5. Alternatives can take any purpose from more rigidity to less rigidity, from emphasis on the "3 R's" to making street life the curriculum, from less freedom to more freedom. The important thing is for the alternative school to know why it exists and what it is trying to do.

6. Alternative schooling opens new vistas such as the value of giving school credit for what pupils learned outside of school and using community resources as extensions of school. Our school systems are not yet ready to accept such ideas but we can be thinking about them.

WE MOVE TOWARD OPTIONS IN SCHOOLING

by
Rolland W. Jones

Much about schools in the past can be characterized as uniformity and standardization based on the way teachers teach and administrators manage. The fresh breeze blowing toward the future indicates a diversity and individualization based on the way children learn.

I do not see options in schools as a reform of something that is wrong but rather as a natural evolution toward more mature and responsible educational programs. The basic ingredient of options in education is choice, but to choose, one must have worthy choices and the ability to choose. The obligations of teachers and administrators alike are obvious here.

In Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina, we have as of this writing eight optional schools as well as numerous optional programs in our conventional schools scheduled for implementation during the 1974-75 school year; two open elementary schools, one open middle school, one open high school, a street academy, a school for teen-age parents or pregnant students, a night school, and a traditional, academic elementary school. We also have numerous optional programs within our conventional schools.

A TOTALLY OPEN SCHOOL

At the Irwin Avenue School, hundreds of teachers have come to see a totally open K-6 elementary school.

Irwin Avenue opened more than a year ago with an enrollment of 650 students and a staff of 25 teachers and one principal. The school was located in an old junior high school building. Summer was spent knocking down walls and repainting the building, providing in-service training to the staff, rounding up parent volunteers, and helping parents organize car pools.

The school opened only after a full year of planning by the principal, central staff, several teachers, and the parents who had spearheaded the movement for an open school. Consequently, by the time school opened, there was general agreement among the school community about what kind of school Irwin Avenue would be. This time for thrashing things out and developing consensus has been a vital factor in Irwin's success.

The school has also effected change beyond its walls. Parents now look at their children differently, they see them being more capable now. And visiting parents and teachers from other schools have asked, "If Irwin can do it, why can't we?" We are seeing an ever-growing interest in open education in this community.

That growing interest goes beyond a mere catch-phase. Parents and teachers throughout our county are now becoming advocates for continuous progress, for individualized instruction.

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Almost from the beginning, hundreds of children have been on Irwin's waiting list.

As all school administrators know, open education can be a very controversial subject. We avoided much of the controversy by making our program optional. Teachers in some conventional schools still experiment with open education; we decided, however, to make some of our schools totally open and optional.

The only controversy we had over open education emerged in the spring of 1973, when the board of education was deciding whether to give the go ahead for Irwin. One conservative board member said at the time, "I don't want to send my child to an open school, but I don't want to tell my neighbor he can't send his child to the school he wants." The optional approach won the day. The same approach can work in other kinds of schools.

THE STREET ACADEMY EXPANDS

Two years ago, a former teacher started on her own a program for junior high school students who had been expelled from the public schools. Called the Street Academy, the program usually had about five students. The school system assumed responsibility for the program in early 1973, expanding it to include some 12 to 15 youngsters. A year ago, we opened it up on a much expanded basis. By the middle of the last school year, we had more than 100 youngsters in the program. In expanding the program, we took in youngsters who had not been expelled. Many had quit or had remained in school as spiritual dropouts. We set up a small teacher-pupil ratio, about 1 to 10, and let the principal and the staff plan the kind of program they wanted to run.

We had feared that the Street Academy might become a "dumping ground," the place for "problem children." Our fears did not materialize. The very fact that the Street Academy is optional had helped in this regard. Students are not sent or sentenced to the Street Academy. They decide to go on their own, usually with the advice of their parents or of a counselor.

Many of the problems of young people cut across ethnic or socio-economic lines. Consequently, the Street Academy is thoroughly desegregated in both racial and socio-economic terms.

The excellence of both the program and that staff has provided the environment in which young people at the Street Academy can change -- and they have. Rather than being called a dumping ground, the Street Academy now has a communitywide image as the place which breeds success. In the spring, we opened two satellite centers, but there still is a waiting list of 130, that is equal to the capacity of the school.

Neither this school system nor any but the richest can ever expect to be able to afford a series of Street Academies, despite the clear need. The only way out, then, is to change the regular schools, so that more Street Academies will not be needed. The Street Academy is helping us accomplish this reform. Visiting teachers have seen how science can be made more concrete, how social studies can be individualized for slow as well as fast achievers, how the embarrassment of a non-reader can be overcome -- and in the process teachers are undergoing self-renewal.

We used the optional approach in another school we opened earlier this year. Students who have dropped out or for various reasons cannot attend day programs can attend school at night and earn their high school diploma. About 100 students are in the program, and nearly all seem to be well-motivated. Their fine attendance records at the night school have pleasantly surprised their former counselors.

A CHANCE TO SPREAD ONE'S WINGS

In the Street Academy and in the Evening School, the optional approach has given us a chance to try out new ideas, to prove that no youngster is a lost cause. Those two schools are full of successful students who previously had known only failure. Likewise, the Irwin Avenue Open School has given bright children a chance to move faster than they ever had before, and children who learn more slowly a chance to learn more than anyone had previously thought them capable of learning.

The optional approach need not be confined to a whole school concept. We have started working within school options at all levels. Ranging from offering parents and children a choice between open and traditional classrooms, to our occupational mix program in high school.

The optional approach gives teachers and principals a chance to spread their wings and be a part of a laboratory for learning. They give students and parents a chance to be part of something, because they made the decision to come into the program. They facilitate the building of a school community.

Staggering changes in students and society have already made some parts of today's schools obsolete and irrelevant. These parts have an adverse effect on the total program. In a school system set up to help individuals, the whole is only as good as each of its parts.

Our problems involve more than the explosions of population, knowledge, and technology, more than the deterioration of the stable old basic units of home, church, and community, more than the expansion of large bureaucratic institutions, more than money and materialism.

Our problem is more than cop-outs, drop-outs, drugs, and communes; more than violence, demonstrations and sexuality; more than boredom, depression, and alienation; more than isolation, discrimination, and disadvantage.

Our task is the reordering of the educational enterprise from top to bottom and, as we put our house in order, to remember that it was built for people.

THE MIDDLE SCHOOL: AN EMERGING CONCEPT

by
C. Kenneth McEwin and Joyce V. Lawrence

The American middle school concept has "arrived" as an important educational movement in terms of numbers and recognition. From a modest beginning of less than 200 in 1960, there are now an estimated 5,000 middle schools in the United States. A recent survey shows that there are now functioning middle schools in all 50 states.

Many factors have influenced this rapid growth pattern. Overcrowded buildings, desegregation patterns, and factors associated with administrative convenience, have had an effect on the development and rapid growth of the movement. The disenchantment with the American junior high school and the desire for curricular improvement are also key reasons for the adoption of the concept. Although many of the original goals of the junior high school movement are identical or at least similar to those proported by the middle school concept, the junior high fell into the trap of becoming a "mini-high school". Of major importance, however, is the contribution made by junior highs to the idea of having a special school designed to meet the needs of those young people in the middle. In many ways the middle school movement is a refinement and redefinition of the original goals of the junior high school movement.

The most typical grade arrangement found in the middle schools is the 6-8 plan, although there is great variety to be found in school systems. Some systems utilize a 5-8 plan, others a 5-6, 4-7, 4-8 5-7, 6-9 or possibly a 7-9 arrangement. Although many authorities prefer the 5-8 plan, the others may be equally successful. The implementation of a sound educational plan based on the needs of the learners is of greater importance than actual grade levels contained in the school.

The middle school concept provides for a student-centered curriculum, designed around three major concerns: personal development; skills of continued learning; and the introduction to organized knowledge. The overall goal of the middle school is to provide a school for students sho are making the transition from childhood to adulthood. These students are often called "transescents" a term described by Donald Eichhorn[1] as

> ... the stage of development which begins prior to the onset of puberty and extends through the early stages of adolescence. Since puberty does not occur for all precisely at the same chronological age in

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[1] Eichhorn, Donald H. The Middle School. New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1966.

> human development, the transescent designation is based on the many physical, social, emotional, and intellectual changes in body chemistry that appear prior to the time during which the body gains a practical degree of stabilization over these complex pubescent changes.

In order to reach its goals the middle school attempts to design a unique program adapted to the needs of the pre- and early adolescent learner. A wide range of intellectual, social, and physical experiences should be provided. Many opportunities for exploration and the development of fundamental skills needed by students are provided and special provisions are made for the individualization and personalization of instruction of all students. Unique learning programs are especially important to this age group as they develop and emerge into adolescence. The effective middle school offers transescents many opportunities to make a smooth educational transition by providing an environment where the child, not the program, is the most important component. The opportunity to succeed is ensured for all, not just a selected few.

Elements found in most middle schools include provisions for guidance, team teaching, individualized instruction, continuous progress, exploratory programs, independent study plans, and flexible methods of scheduling and grouping. The trend to use multi-age grouping is growing and in the opinion of the writers offers an excellent opportunity for instruction to be based on the needs and interests of the students rather than on chronological age.

The trends mentioned above did not occur by chance, but have developed out of attempts to base the curriculum of the school on what is known about the nature of the period of transescence. The transescent is a unique person and the only common characteristic found in this group is change itself. Although as a group transescents have many things in common, they are very different from each other and within themselves. They may be operating at different levels in such areas as physical development, emotional development and intellectual development. The major traits and characteristics of transescents should be carefully taken into consideration when designing a curriculum for the middle school. They are:

1. Increased intellectual abilities and mental prowess;
2. Physical change -- with notice that these changes are occuring earlier than in previous years;
3. Craving for peer acceptance;
4. Need to master a new body;
5. Need to assert independence and autonomy;
6. Emotions strong and often changing;
7. Need to restructure systems of values.

When these characteristics are taken into account the effective middle school program can offer opportunities for students to develop their maximum potential. Appropriate instructional strategies require the diagnosis of educational needs of each student, prescriptions of options to meet those needs, and the evaluation of student progress toward the prescribed objectives.

If this new educational movement is to reach its full potential, it is paramount that teacher preparation institutions have special programs to prepare teachers who have knowledge concerning this age group and who are committed to the importance of providing appropriate learning experiences for them. Although only approximately 5% of teachers now teaching in the middle grades have had special preparation, several universities are now developing plans for the special preparation of middle and junior high school teachers. The College of Learning and Human Development at Appalachian State University at the time of this writing is the only state supported institution in North Carolina who offers a middle school graduate degree program. These special programs are essential to the ultimate success of the middle school movement.

An effective middle school makes an attempt to meet the needs of all students. It is not an elementary school nor a secondary school, but attempts to provide a bridge between the elementary school and the secondary school. It is particularly important to emphasize that the particular grade organization contained in the building is not the crucial factor, but that the program contained in the organizational plan is the key factor.

The middle school movement provides hope for a quality instructional program for a very special developmental period of our youth. The final destiny of the movement remains to be realized. It does, however, promise to be a real and lasting educational force that has the potential of revitalizing education in the middle grades.

NEWARK LIVING STUDIES CENTER: A SCHOOL FOR DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS

by
W.A. Proctor

Educators and parents are most fortunate in that the vast majority of students profit unusually well from current educational treatment. However, many students sustain themselves in the public school by simply coping minimally with the demands or expectations of the educational environment. To a degree, this involves a conflict in life style, needs, and learned behavior that is inconsistent with similar aspects of the school itself.

Historically, alternative responses of the schools have been limited and noncreative in that most children have been expected to adapt to the perceptions of the school in order to survive or become defensive and not survive. What the schools need is a better understanding of all students in terms of life style, needs, and learned behavior in order to foster an ecology conducive to effective learning with a concomitant of social competence.

CURRICULUM MODEL

In many children, linguistic or language development is adequate or more than adequate to handle the basic skills. These are children who feel extremely comfortable in situations that provide cultural and academic stimulation of a formal nature. As a rule, these students are highly conforming and relate well to a person in a position of authority. They are interested in achieving good grades or receiving other symbols of achievement. While they may be inadequate in practical or social situations because of fears, they often resort to academic work as a compensation.

These are students who need little scolding and preaching. Their ability to acquire theoretical knowledge is superior. Long range goals are excellent and the students work with perseverance, with good results. They are well disciplined and under good self-control. Concentration, organization and use of time and energy are well developed. They are independent and can make up their minds quickly. Their approaches to problem solving are highly systematic and basically analytical. Most important, these children have the tools to learn, can be aroused, will persevere, and respond to normal reinforcements.

DISRUPTIVE CHILD

Many students operate with a reduced level of aspiration. All verbal organization of ideas is a chore and often resented. Attitudes are nonconforming, and there is a basic problem in relating to authority. Interaction with people and things is accomplished in an aggressive manner. Learning seems to take place best through concrete manipulation of materials. Unfortunately, most of the children are deficient in self-

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control and possess little ability to assume responsibility. Lack of sustained attention to assigned tasks or routine assignments is most evident.

They tend to give up easily, are impulsive, and demand immediate rewards. Distractibility is a deterrent to their learning. Their frustration tolerance is rather low. These students operate on interest and often are unwilling to put forth effort in teacher-directed tasks. They may be so dependent that they are unable to make decisions or so independent that they constantly want to do what they want to do, when they want to do it.

Another group may manifest disordered perceptions of reality. Thought and cognition interfere with day-to-day success in school. These children often learn the basic skills, but they are unable to apply their knowledge in the typical classroom situation. In the area of reality, many children develop an attitude of insecurity and fearfulness. They often lack confidence and feel unaccepted. Self is sometimes not accepted as being worthy. Their ability to interact with others is limited because of a feeling of not being accepted. They do not understand themselves or others. Tensions, fears, uncertainties, and inferiorities lead to a strong defensive reaction to social situations. Cognition is disturbed by deflections of thought processes from the main topic into irrelevant details. There is much emotionality in thoughts with an inclination to jump helter-skelter from beginning to end. Mood variability ranges from extremes of elation to depression. In short, they exaggerate or ignore the meanings of success and failure.

The preceding descriptions of students are not to project needs for a track program, but simply to observe needs so that common elements may be derived from the organism. Only so can we bring the environment into focus by enhancing our own knowledge of children's capacity for growth and pleasure. We can also foster children's sense of dignity effectively through a teacher-child relationship that is humanistic in nature and based on a high degree of sensitivity to the teacher's role in dealing with specific aspects of the whole child in a selective learning environment.

NEWARK LIVING STUDIES CENTER

The Newark Living Studies Center, operating in a warehouse leased by the Newark, Delaware, School District, attempts to improve the quality of educational experience currently available to exceptional children at the middle school level.

The working hypothesis of the program is that, as the curriculum becomes more relevant for the target population, observable changes in the behavior of the experimental group, as compared to the control group, will occur.

The central aim of the Living Studies Center is the development of a dynamic curriculum based on high interest activities outside the conventional school environment. A balance among direct, model, and indirect levels of experience is maintained.

Procedures drawn from modern instructional technology are utilized in the ongoing analysis of curriculum. Continual recording of pupil reaction to curriculum as it is developed serves as a guide to completion of the curriculum plan. However, only the details of study units are negotiable; the guiding principles may not be altered.

Theoretically, the program extends the Premack Principle to make curriculum its own sufficient reinforcement; that is, instead of using high interest activities to reinforce the occurrence of low interest activities, the program attempts to build "living studies" directly into the high interest activities themselves.

The nature of the Living Studies project does not permit construction of a strict sequence of activities to be followed throughout the year. Curriculum is largely determined by patterns of interest developed by the youngsters as the project progresses. This means that the activities at point C will be influenced by the results of efforts at earlier points A and B. To provide a detailed curriculum plan would be contrary to the central method of the project and would be the surest way to take the life out of "Living Studies."

The program began its third year in September 1974. Over one hundred students have been served during the past two years and returned to the mainstream. Significant improvements for the experimental group as compared to the control group have been observed in the areas of reading, spelling, mathematics, attendance, reduced disruptive behavior, and increased task-relevant behavior.

While the "Living Studies Center" appears to be a viable program for the disruptive student, much still must be learned relative to long-range programming for this population.

HIGH SCHOOL WITH NO WALLS - IT'S A HAPPENING IN PHILADELPHIA

by
Henry S. Resnik

In the great jungle of public education, the high schools are open game these days, and the onslaughts of the critics, from respected academics to long-haired student activists, are having a devastating effect. The severest criticisms define the typical American high school as a prison-and-factory, but even establishment insiders have admitted that most high schools are several generations behind the times. Everybody, it seems, is looking for alternatives, and the school system of Philadelphia has found what many educational reformers consider a truly exciting possibility: an experimental high school called the Parkway Program.

A year-round happening, the program is a school without grades, marks, arbitrary rules, authority figures, a building -- or, its advocates claim, boredom.

The locale is in and around central Philadelphia: in offices, museums, science centers, hospitals, theaters, department stores; in luncheonettes, in the Automat, on street corners and stairways. Students can opt for such courses as: law enforcement at the administration building of the Police Department, library science at the public library, and biology at the Academy of Natural Sciences. In fact, with all of Philadelphia as a resource, Parkway students are free to study just about anything that may interest them.

When most administrators want to boast about a new high school, they produce drawings of a $14-million edifice that took three years to build; the best picture of the Parkway Program is an aerial view of Benjamin Franklin Parkway, a mile-long boulevard lined with cultural institutions that begins at City Hall and culminates in the Greek-revival Museum of Art on a hill overlooking the Schuylkill River. The Parkway Program brushes aside the traditional notion that learning must be acquired within four-walled boxes called classrooms and acknowledges that life and learning are all part of the same ongoing process. The city itself is the classroom, and the life of the city is the curriculum.

NO LID TO BLOW

There are no dropouts here. Parkway students linger long after scheduled classes are over and often volunteer to come in for various weekend activities. As far as the program is concerned, no administrators are worried that "the lid will blow." There is no lid.

Perhaps most important, the program is structured to acknowledge the value and uniqueness of every individual. For most of the people the program serves -- teacher and students as well -- school has become a portal to self-fulfillment.

Philadelphia's "school without walls" began as a brilliant gimmick for decreasing overcrowding -- at virtually no cost to the school system -- and publicizing the climate of innovation that a new Board of Education had been trying to establish since the beginning of 1966.

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According to local legend, a board official looked out his office window in the board's Parkway headquarters one day, saw the huge palaces of culture -- the Free Library, the Franklin Institute, the Art Museum and dozens of others -- that line the Parkway for most of its length, and said, "Why not use all this as the campus of a high school?" When the proposal was announced in February 1968, it was the talk of Philadelphia -- the combination of economy and novelty lent the idea an almost irresistible magic. Several leaders of Parkway institutions complained that they had not been consulted and that their participation was far from guaranteed, but these objections were lost amid the general din of rosy publicity.

Old guard administrators at the Philadelphia Board of Education still maintain, as they did at the beginning, that the program is no more than a good job of public relations on the part of the reformist board and the liberal administration of Superintendent of Schools Mark Shedd. It is indeed good copy, but, more than any other single experiment in Philadelphia's huge reform movement, the Parkway Program delivers the basic educational changes that Shedd promised when the board hired him early in 1966. Although the program has a good deal of surface glitter and seems so much a merely slick idea, it questions basic assumptions about the structure of schools. Its supporters believe that its potential for effecting change is virtually unlimited.

"THE RIGHT MAN"

In retrospect, it is clear that the possibilities of the proposal might never have been realized if it had fallen into the wrong hands. For months after the board's announcement, traditionalists within the school system limited their reaction to questions about how administrators could ever coordinate the activities of so vast and sprawling a campus. For them, the proposed "Parkway High School" was merely a difficult exercise in scheduling, a nightmare vision of shuttle buses jamming the parkway and harried vice principals imploring systems analysts to help them out of the mess. If this attitude had prevailed, the program could easily have amounted to a bizarre variation on the usual theme.

But then, in June 1968, the board announced the appointment of 42-year-old John Bremer as the program's director. An Englishman and a born rebel, Bremer had roughly twenty years of educational experimentation to his credit. Nine of these he had spent in England, principally in connection with the Leicestershire Schools, which are now being widely hailed as models for reform in elementary education throughout the United States. Most recently, after emigrating to America and teaching education at the university level, Bremer had been unit administrator of New York's Two Bridges district, a tempest-torn effort at decentralization and community control. Bremer was so soft-spoken and mild-mannered that some observers within the central administration wondered in the beginning whether he could handle the politics of the job. Soon, however, their fears were set firmly to rest, for it became clear as time went on that, in the words of an educational consultant close to the program, Bremer has been "the right man in the right place at the right time."

Typical of Bremer's approach was his insistence, from the earliest days of his appointment, that, contrary to popular belief, there would be no shuttle buses connecting the various parkway institutions --

students would have to find their own way of getting from one place to another, no matter what the distance. The decision reflects a philosophy that has come to dominate the program and to determine its basic shape and style: Bremer is committed to individual growth, creativity and autonomy; he is an enemy of bureaucracies that tell people exactly what to do and think (or how to get to a destination); he delights in public criticism of the educational establishment. At the opening of the summer session in July 1969, he told a group of students entering the program for the first time, "In terms of behavior and attitudes, you're going to have to unlearn everything you've learned in your public school education so far, as quickly as possible."

The pilot "unit" of the Parkway Program opened in February 1968, with approximately 140 students, among whom half were black and 20 were from Philadelphia suburbs; nine full-time teachers; another ten or so student-teachers or undergraduate interns; and a huge second-story loft headquarters two blocks from City Hall. A second unit was opened, in rented office space five blocks from the first, at the beginning of the summer session, enrolling another 130 students. In September 1969, a third unit, about ten blocks from the first, was opened in an old school building. This consists of an elementary school for 130 children in kindergarten through fourth grade, modeled on the libertarian British infant schools that Bremer helped to pioneer, and a high school for 130 students who participate in and study, among other things, the entire operation of the elementary school. A fourth unit, again with 130 high school students, has just opened. The original plan called for a high school of 2,400 students, and although Bremer has considered such modifications of the plan as a "non-geographical school district" encompassing much larger numbers of students throughout the city, each unit in the growing program has been modeled on the same basic pattern.

One of the greatest attractions of the Parkway Program for students is the tremendous freedom it allows -- some observers believe that the program is merely chaotic. Bremer insists, however, that he has provided a tight "internal" structure. While each unit has taken on a distinct character of its own, at any rate, certain structural elements are common to the entire program:

LIKE A FAMILY

Tutorial Groups

These groups of about fifteen students and two teachers are the principal base, rather like a family, of each student's Parkway career. In the tutorial group, which meets for two hours four days a week, the student plans his schedule, receives personal counseling, and makes up deficiencies in such basic skills as reading and math. Some tutorial groups plan parties and outings; others organize informal athletic events; others agree to study a subject of mutual interest. The tutorials are also responsible for the extensive written evaluations of both students' and teachers' work that take the place of grades.

Selection by Lottery

One of Bremer's educational axioms is, "Anything that can be measured is educationally worthless." Consequently, the Parkway Program bypasses standardized tests as a basis for admission and favors the totally random method of drawing names from a hat. There were 10,000 applications for the 130 places in the second unit; some teenagers burst into tears when they missed their chance at the public drawing.

HOW TEACHERS ARE CHOSEN

Faculty Selection by Committee

Most teachers in the Parkway Program are selected by committees consisting of university students, parents from the community, visiting teachers, and students and teachers from other units. After the initial interviews, a few dozen of the most promising applicants are assigned the task of deciding what process of elimination they should use in filling the limited number of openings, and are then observed by Bremer and key advisers as they thrash out the problem.

Institutional Offerings

Each unit is responsible for enlisting the aid of the various downtown institutions, both public and private, in the form of courses and other projects, which range from discussion and planning groups to paid employment. So far, each unit has managed to line up more than thirty offerings. The Parkway catalog lists 90 "cooperating institutions."

Faculty Offerings

Since the program operates only within general requirements for the high school diploma in the State of Pennsylvania, the permanent faculty members have been able to explore many subjects and courses of study that the traditional high school would never allow. During the first session, for example, students could choose from such unusual fare as: Psychology and Personal Problems," "Multi-media Journalism," "Filmmaking," "Vagabond Sketching," "Kite-flying," numerous workshops in creative writing, and courses in 10 languages.

Town Meetings

Sometimes shouting sessions, sometimes orderly public debates, the program's weekly town meetings have emerged as the principal form of government in each unit. Discussions range from such basic questions as what kinds of rules and philosophies the unit should adopt to such mundane matters as the filling out of forms, but the emphasis throughout is on total participatory democracy.

"EVERYBODY'S YOUR FRIEND"

What may be the most important factor in the program's success, however, is the emphasis on community that has come to motivate the behavior of most participants as if it were a religious force. The various structural elements have certainly encouraged this sense of community, but it seems to derive as much from Bremer's inspiring, almost charismatic vision as any other single factor. According to Mario

Fantini, the program's liason with its initial sponsor, the Ford Foundation, "John Bremer made the program human." Most teachers are known, at any rate, by their first names only, and students usually describe the warmth and intimacy of the program as if they can scarcely believe they have found such things in a place called school. "Here you get the feeling that everybody's your friend" is a typical reaction.

Bremer insists that the almost random selection of students and faculty has neutralized his power to create a private fiefdom; nevertheless, it is clear to any visitor that he has set the tone for the entire operation and that this tone is almost always informal and spontaneous. Members of the first unit were so friendly and drew so close, in fact, that they may have inadvertently perpetuated a certain anti-establishment cliquishness.

"The first day of the program," reports one teacher who had had more than a decade in the traditional system, "one of the students said 'What do you want to be called? Some of the teachers are called "Mr.' or "Mrs." Some are called by their first names.' I said 'You call me 'Mrs.' After 10 days' time I didn't want anybody calling me 'Mrs.' again."

Another teacher defines what seems to be the most important factor in the self-education of everyone in the Parkway community: "One of the things I've gotten," he observes, "is a sense of power. In the regular school situation you have it within the confines of the classroom, but here I'm really in control of myself and the program as it affects me and the people I'm working with. There's always the sense that the kids are teaching you and you're teaching the kids."

"My kid had already dropped out, even though he was still going to school," says the father of a Parkway student. "They discouraged him at his old school; they discouraged his musical talent, one of his main interests. He's a much different person now -- he's interacting with the other kids and the faculty to a far greater extent...."

Constantly attracting such testimonials from throughout the city, the Parkway Program flaunts its own inability to be evaluated in traditional terms.

"It's founded on a new principle of what education is," says Mario Fantini, who is also one of Ford's leading educational theorists. "The existing system isn't working. If you look at the student unrest as a symptom of the inability of the educational system, forged in another century, to be responsive to the concerns of this generation, it seems that many of those concerns would be addressed in a Parkway-like school."

MORE PARKWAY PROGRAMS

Some educators across the country seem to agree. By the fall of 1969, similar programs were under way in at least four major cities; several community groups in Philadelphia were eager to align themselves with Bremer and his philosophy; the Board of Education had voted to increase the size of the student body in 1969 to 700; and Bremer had a pledge of $500,000 from the school system's operating budget. For once, it seemed, a school had managed to please just about everybody.

There have critics, of course. The program has been attacked as just another of the board's fancy experiments and there have been threats to block city funding. Yet the Parkway Program costs no more than what the board would need to educate the Parkway students in regular high schools.

Some observers argue that despite his emphasis on individual initiative, Bremer has often been hypocritically, arbitrarily authoritarian. A few teachers contend, moreover, that the most important advantage of the program is not its structure but the intimacy provided by a smaller teacher-student ratio -- an intimacy that Bremer may have trouble maintaining as the program grows.

Though riding the crest of a wave, Bremer appreciates what he often refers to as the "messiness" of learning. He is almost proud to admit that the first sessions were not without their problems. Principally, too many students have not received the training in basic skills which is supposed to be a primary function of the tutorials. He is confident, however, that the problems will be solved -- solving educational problems, is after all what the program is about.

Name ______________________________

OBSERVATION OF A SCHOOL

I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS FROM THE SCHOOL
(Record data objectively)

Organization:

Physical Environment:

Classrooms-

Cafeteria-

Office-

Halls-

Library and/or Media Center-

Personnel:

Administrators-

Supervisors-

Paraprofessionals-

Clerical Help-

Service Help-
(Custodial, Cafeteria)

II. OBSERVATIONS FROM ONE CLASSROOM/AREA

(Classroom ____________________)

How many children? Teachers? Aides?

Visual check

___ more than one level of textbooks?

___ indication of children working at different levels?

___ variety of materials?

___ evidence of groupings?

___ evidence of provision for individual differences?

___ evidence of children's explorations?

___ evidence of fostering creativity? inquiry?

Aural check:

___ evidence of teacher-child interaction?

___ evidence of children interacting with one another?

___ noise level reflect productive activity or study?

Other Observations:

HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

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STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 low /2 /3 /4 /5 high

Suggestions for improving ______________________________

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

SAMPLE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

Suggestions for improving ____

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

MODULE V - STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS*

Part I - Students of Varying Cultures

Rationale

America has had the traditional reputation of being the melting pot of the world. While it is true that this continent has accepted immigrants from every major culture of the world, the predominating culture traits are Anglo-European. The melting pot theory has not worked. As teachers you will be confronted with cultural differences which must be understood, dealt with, and respected.

Objectives

Upon completion of this module the student will be able to demonstrate through written examination a minimal level of understanding of the role of cultural differences in our society and identify these group differences and to understand, through simulated experiences, ways teachers deal with classroom situations.

Materials

Cruickshank, "Inner-City Simulation Laboratory" (in Center--to be used in group activity)

Gussow, Joan. "Bodies, Brains and Poverty"

Seymour, Dorothy. "Black English"

Silberman , Charles. "Education and Equality", Chapter 3 from Crisis in the Classroom (on reserve, Belk Library)

Tenenbaum, Samuel. "The Teacher, the Middle Class, the Lower Class"

Environment

Center

Classroom (to be announced on bulletin board)

Activities and Assessment

"C" level of competency

All students will:

---

*There are two parts to this module. Both must be completed at same level of competency.

1. Read Gussow, pages 263-273.
2. Read Seymour, pages 249-254.
3. Read Tenenbaum, pages 255-261.
4. Pass Test C.

"B" level of competency

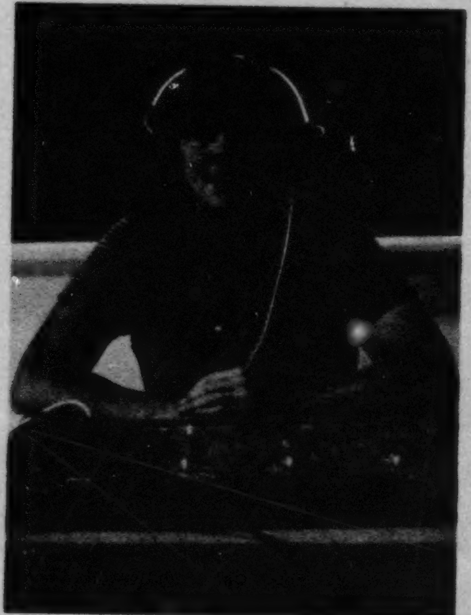
All students will:

1. Read Gussow, pages 263-273.
2. Read Seymour, pages 249-254.
3. Read Tenenbaum, pages 255-261.
4. Pass the Test C on the three readings above;
5. Read Silberman's "Education and Equality," Chapter 4 from Crisis in the Classroom (on reserve, Belk Library)
6. Attend seminar to discuss "Education and Equality."

"A" level of competency

All of #1-6 above, plus:

7. Take part in scheduled activities using Cruickshank's "Inner City Simulation Laboratory."



BLACK ENGLISH

Ghetto speech is not "sloppy talk" or "bad English"
but a dialect with a form and structure of its own.

by
Dorothy Z. Seymour

"Cmon, man, les git goin'!" called the boy to his companion.

"Dat bell ringin'. It say, "Git in rat now!'" He dashed into the school yard.

"Aw, f'get you," replied the other. "Whe'Richuh?

Whe'da'muvvuh? He be going to schoo.'"

"He in de' now, man!" was the answer as they went through the door.

In the classroom they made for their desks and opened their books. The name of the story they tried to read was "Come." It went:

Come, Bill, come.
Come with me.
Come and see this.
See what is here.

The first boy poked the second. "Wha' da' wor'?"

"Da' wor' _is_, you dope."

"_Is_? Ain't no wor' _is_. You jivin' me? Wha' da' wor' mean?"

"Ah dunno. Jus' _is_."

To a speaker of Standard English, this exchange is only vaguely comprehensible. But it's normal speech for thousands of American children. In addition it demonstrates one of our biggest educational problems: children whose speech style is so different from the writing style of their books that they have difficulty learning to read. These children speak Black English, a dialect characteristic of many inner-city Negroes. Their books are, of course, written in Standard English. To complicate matters, the speech they use is also socially stigmatized. Middle class whites and Negroes alike scorn it as low-class poor people's talk.

Teachers sometimes make the situation worse with their attitudes toward Black English. Typically, they view the children's speech as "bad English" characterized by "lazy pronunciation," "poor grammar," and "short, jagged words." One result of this attitude is poor mental health on the part of the pupils. A child is quick to grasp the feeling that while school speech is "good," his own speech is "bad," and that by extension he himself is somehow inadequate and without value. Some children react to this feeling by withdrawing; they stop talking entirely.

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Others develop the attitude of "F'get you, honky." In either case, the psychological results are devastating and lead straight to the dropout route.

It is hard for most teachers and middle-class Negro parents to accept the idea that Black English is not just "sloppy talk" but a dialect with a form and structure of its own. Even some eminent black educators think of it as "bad English grammar" with "slurred consonants" (Professor Nick Aaron Ford of Morgan State College in Baltimore) and "ghettoese" (Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the prominent education psychologist).

Parents of Negro school children generally agree. Two researchers at Columbia University report that the adults they worked with in Harlem almost unanimously preferred that their children be taught Standard English in school.

But there is another point of view, one held in common by black militants and some white liberals. They urge that middle-class Negroes stop thinking of the inner-city dialect as something to be ashamed of and repudiated. Black author Claude Brown, for example, pushes this point of view.

Some modern linguists take a similar stance. They begin with the premise that no dialect is intrinsically "bad" or "good," and that a nonstandard speech style is not defective speech but different speech. More important, they have been able to show that Black English is far from being a careless way of speaking the Standard; instead, it is a rather rigidly constructed set of speech patterns, with the same sort of specialization in sounds, structure and vocabulary as any other dialect.

Middle-class listeners who hear black inner-city speakers say "dis" and "tin" for "this" and "thin" assume that the black speakers are just being careless. Not at all; these differences are characteristic aspects of the dialect. The original cause of such substitutions is generally the carry-over from one's original language or that of his immigrant parents. The interference from that carry-over probably caused the substitution of /d/ for the voiced "th" sound in this, and /t/ for the unvoiced "th" sound in thin. (Linguists represent language sounds by putting letters within slashes or brackets.) Most speakers of English don't realize that the two "th" sounds of English are lacking in many other languages and are difficult for most foreigners trying to learn English. Germans who study English, for example, are surprised and confused about these sounds because the only Germans who use them are the ones who lisp. These two sounds are almost nonexistent in the West African languages which most black imigrants brought with them to America.

Similar substitutions used in Black English are /f/, a sound similar to the unvoiced "th" in medial word-position, as in birfday for birthday, and in final word-position, as in roof for Ruth, as well as /v/ for the voiced "th" in medial position, as bruvver for brother. These sound substitutions are also typical of Gullah, the language of black speakers in the Carolina Sea Islands. Some of them are also heard in Caribbean Creole. Another characteristic is the lack of /l/ at the end of words, sometimes replaced by the sound /w/. This makes a word like tool sound like too.

One difference that is startling to middle-class speakers is the fact that Black English words appear to leave off some consonant sounds at the end of words. Like Italian, Japanese and West African words, they are more likely to end in vowel sounds. Standard English boot is pronounced boo in Black English. What is wha. Sure is sho. Your is yo. This kind of difference can make for confusion in the classroom. Dr. Kenneth Goodman, a psycholinguist, tells of a black child whose white teacher asked him to use so in a sentence -- not "sew a dress" but "the other so." The sentence the child used was "I got a so on my leg."

A related feature of Black English is the tendency in many cases not to use sequences of more than just one final consonant sound. For example, just is pronounced jus', past is pass, mend sounds like men and hold sounds like hole. Six and box are pronounced sick and bock. Why should this be? Perhaps because West African languages, like Japanese, have almost no clusters of consonants in their speech. The Japanese, when importing a foreign word, handle a similar problem by inserting vowel sounds between every consonant, making baseball sound besuboru. West Africans probably make a simpler change, merely cutting a series of two consonant sounds down to one. Speakers of Gullah, according to one linguist, have made the same kind of adaptation of Standard English.

Teachers of black children seldom understand the reason for these differences in final sounds. They are apt to think that careless speech is the cause. Actually, black speakers aren't "leaving off" any sounds; how can you leave off something you never had in the first place?

Differences in vowel sounds are also characteristic of the nonstandard language. Dr. Goodman reports that a black child asked his teacher how to spell rat. "R-a-t," she replied. But the boy responded. "No ma'am, I don't mean rat mouse, I mean rat now." In Black English right sounds like rat. A likely reason is that in West African languages, there are very few vowel sounds of the type heard in the word right. This type is common in English. It is called a glided or dipthongized vowel sound. A glided vowel sound is actually a close combination of two vowels; in the word right the two parts of the sound "eye" are really "ah-ee." West African languages have no such long, two-part, changing vowel sounds, their vowels are generally shorter and more stable. This may be why in Black English, time sounds like Tom, oil like all, and my like ma.

Black English differs from Standard English not only in its sounds but also in its structure. The way the words are put together does not always fit the description in English grammar books. The method of expressing time, or tense, for example, differs in significant ways.

The verb to be is an important one in Standard English. It's used as an auxiliary verb to indicate different tenses. But Black English speakers use it quite differently. Sometimes an inner-city Negro says "He coming.": other times he says, "He be coming." These two sentences mean different things. To understand why, let's look at the tenses of West African languages; they correspond with those of Black English.

Many West African languages have a tense which is called the habitual. This tense is used to express action that is always occurring, and it is formed with a verb that is translated as be. "He be coming." means something like "He's always coming," "He usually comes," or "He's been coming."

In Standard English there is no regular grammatical construction for such a tense. Black English speakers, in order to form the habitual tense in English, use the word be as an auxiliary: He be doing it. My Momma be working. He be running. The habitual tense is not the same as the present tense, which is constructed in Black English without any form of the verb *to be*: *He do it*. *My Momma working*. *He running*. (This means the action is occurring right now.)

There are other tense differences between Black English and Standard English. For example, the nonstandard speech does not use changes in grammar to indicate the past tense. A white person will ask, "What did your brother say?" and the black person will answer, "He say he coming." "How did you get here?" "I walk." This style of talking about the past is parallelled in the Yoruba, Fante, Hausa, and Ewe languages of West Africa.

Expression of plurality is another difference. The way a black child will talk of "them boy" or "two dog" makes some white listeners think Negroes don't know how to turn a singular word into a plural word. As a matter of fact, it isn't necessary to use an *s* to express plurality. For example, in Chinese it's correct to say "There are three book on the table." This sentence already has two signals of the plural, *three* and *are*; why require a third? This same logic is the basis of plurals in most West African Languages, where nouns are often identical in the plural and the singular. For example, in Ibo, one correctly says *those man*, and in both Ewe and Yoruba one says *they house*. American speakers of Gullah retain this style; they say *five dog*.

Gender is another aspect of language structure where differences can be found. Speakers of Standard English are often confused to find that the non-standard vernacular often uses just one gender of pronoun, the masculine, and refers to women as well as men as *he* or *him*. "*He is a nice girl*" and even "*Him a nice girl*" are common. This usage probably stems from West African origins too, as does the use of multiple negatives such as "Nobody don't know it."

Vocabulary is the third aspect of a person's native speech that could affect his learning of a new language. The strikingly different vocabulary often used in Negro Nonstandard English is probably the most obvious aspect of it to a casual white observer. But its vocabulary differences don't obscure its meaning the way different sounds and different structure often do.

Recently there has been much interest in the African origins of words like *goober* (peanut), *cooter* (turtle), and *tote* (carry), as well as others that are less certainly African, such as *to dig* (possibly from the Wolof *degan*, "to understand"). Such expressions seem colorful rather than low class to many whites; they become assimilated faster than their black originators do. English professors now use *dig* in their scholarly articles, and current advertising has enthusiastically adopted *rap*.

Is it really possible for old differences in sound, structure and vocabulary to persist from the West African languages of slave days into present-day inner-city Black English? Easily. Nothing else really explains such regularity of language habits, most of which persist among black people in various parts of the Western Hemisphere. For a long time scholars believed that certain speech forms used by Negroes were merely leftovers from archaic English preserved in the speech of early English settlers in America and copied by their slaves. But this theory has been greatly weakened, largely as the result of the work of a black linguist, Dr. Lorenzo Dow Turner of the University of Chicago. Dr. Turner studied the speech of Gullah Negroes in the Sea Islands off the Carolina coast and found so many traces of West African languages that he thoroughly discredited the archaic-English theory.

When anyone learns a new language, it's usual to try to speak the new language with the sounds and structure of the old. If a person's first language does not happen to have a particular sound needed in the language he is learning, he will tend to substitute a similar or related sound from his native language and use it to speak the new one. When Frenchman Charles Boyer said "Zees ess my heart," and when Latin American Carmen Miranda said, "Souse American way," they were simply using sounds from their native languages in trying to pronounce sounds in English. West Africans must have done the same thing when they first attempted English words. The tendency to retain the structure of the native language is a strong one, too. That's why a German learning English is likely to put his verb at the end: "May I a glass of beer have?" The vocabulary of one's original language may also furnish some holdovers. Jewish immigrants did not stop using the word bagel when they came to America; nor did Germans stop saying sauerkraut.

Social and geographical isolation reinforces the tendency to retain old language habits. When one group is considered inferior, the other group avoids it. For many years it was illegal to give any sort of instruction to Negroes, and for slaves to try to speak like their masters would have been unthinkable. Conflicts of value systems doubtless retards changes, too. As Frantz Fanon observed in Black Skin, White Masks, those who take on white speech habits are suspect in the ghetto, because others believe they are trying to act white. Dr. Kenneth Johnson, a black linguist, put it this way. "As long as disadvantaged black children live in segregated communities and most of their relationships are confined to those within their own subculture, they will not replace their functional nonstandard dialect with the nonfunctional standard dialect."

Linguists have made it clear that language systems that are different are not necessarily deficient. A judgment of deficient can be made only in comparison with another language system. Let's turn the tables on Standard English for a moment and look at it from the West African point of view. From this angle, Standard English (1) is lacking in certain language sounds; (2) has a couple of unnecessary language sounds for which others may serve as good substitutes; (3) doubles and drawls some of its vowel sounds in sequences that are unusual and difficult to imitate; (4) lacks a method of forming an important tense; (5) requires an unnecessary number of ways to indicate tense, plurality and gender; and (6) doesn't mark negatives sufficiently for the result to be a good strong negative statement.

Now whose language is deficient?

How would the adoption of this point of view help us? Say we accepted the evidence that Black English is not just a sloppy Standard but an organized language style which probably has developed many of its features on the basis of its West African heritage. What would we gain?

The psychological climate of the classroom might improve if teachers understood why many black students speak as they do. But we still have not reached a solution of the main problem. Does the discovery that Black English has pattern and structure mean that it should not be tampered with? Should children who speak Black English be excused from learning the Standard in school? Should they perhaps be given books in Black English to learn from?

Any such accomodation would surely result in a hardening of the new separatism being urged by some black militants. It would probably be applauded by such people as Roy Innes, Director of C.O.R.E., who is currently recommending dual autonomous education systems for white and black. And it might facilitate learning to read, since some experiments have indicated that materials written in Black English syntax aid problem readers from the inner city.

But determined resistance to the introduction of such printed materials into schools can be expected. To those who view inner-city speech as bad English, the appearance in print of sentences like "My mama, he work" can be as shocking and repellent as a four-letter word. Middle-class Negro parents would probably mobilize against the move. Any strategem that does not take into account such practicalities of the matter is probably doomed to failure. And besides, where would such a permissive policy on language get these children in the larger society, and in the long run? If they want to enter an integrated America they must be able to deal with it on its own terms. Even Professor Toni Cade of Rutgers, who doesn't want "ghetto accents" tampered with, advocated mastery of Standard English because, as she puts it, "If you want to get ahead in this country, you must master the language of the ruling class." This has always been true, wherever there has been a minority group.

The problem then appears to be one of giving these children the ability to speak (and read) Standard English without denigrating the vernacular and those who use it, or even affecting the ability to use it. The only way to do this is to officially espouse bidialectism. The result would be the ability to use either dialect equally well -- as Dr. Martin Luther King did -- depending on the time, place, and circumstances. Pupils would have to learn enough about Standard English to use it when necessary and teachers would have to learn enough about the inner-city dialect to understand and accept it for what it is -- not just a "careless" version of Standard English but a different form of English that's appropriate at certain times and places.

Can we accomplish this? If we can't, the result will be the continued alienation of a large section of the population, continued dropout trouble with consequent loss of earning power and economic contribution to the nation, but most of all, loss of faith in America as a place where a minority people can at times continue to use those habits that remind them of their link with each other and with their past.

THE TEACHER, THE MIDDLE CLASS, THE LOWER CLASS

by
Samuel Tenenbaum

I live on the West Side of Manhattan in a rather solid middle-class house with doorman and all. My neighbors have been complaining for a long time that the neighborhood has been running down. But the building I live in has held like a bastion, a strong fifteen-story fortress. My neighbors felt safe and protected once within its high walls, until a hotel on the opposite side of the street began to be used by the city relief agency to house indigent families. The hotel, a great affair, once magnificent, in bygone days probably catered to people of substance. This is the way, I suppose, of an American city. It represents the great human flow and ebb, the tidal waves of a dynamic culture that pushes people and fortunes around endlessly.

But this is not really my story. I meant to speak of how these lower-class people affected us, the middle-class people in our house; and what I myself learned in terms of my own feelings as a teacher. If I am a little roundabout, forgive me.

First of all, in what seemed almost overnight (and in actuality was not more than a month), this once great hotel was seething with life and ferment and energy. This comparatively quiet block took on all the aspects of a slum block and some of the aspects of a perpetual carnival. Hordes of children, like milling cattle, cluttered the once empty street; children of all ages, from one year to -- well, they looked like eighteen and twenty. Boys and girls mixed in packs, and it was difficult to think of them as single, individual children. They shouted, they screamed, they pushed, they fought. In the midst of play, they would suddenly get into individual fights and collective fights. Violence, aggression, play, and friendliness seemed all mixed up. Every wall on the block was used, either to play ball on or to throw things on. The streets became cluttered with debris, especially broken glass. Where they got all the glass to break is beyond me. The area around this hotel became one vast accumulation of litter. Also, it was quite common for children to throw things from the windows at passersby. The parents apparently did not object, for I never saw a parent reprimand a child for this. The children resembled an uncontrolled, undisciplined herd, doing what they wished, with neither mother nor father in sight to curb, admonish, or chastise. In fact, when these lower-class children moved in, some of the motherly women in our building occasionally attempted to discipline a child, invariably with frightening results. A cluster of febrile humanity arose like spontaneous combustion to repel the invader, and these well-intentioned women felt lucky if they escaped unharmed. Such incidents only increased my neighbors' sense of helplessness and fear. In the end, my middle-class neighbors, through painful experience, learned to look on aloofly and distantly as children of six and seven smoked and young boys and girls openly engaged in physical contact. Attracted by such scenes, almost glued to them, these neighbors of mine expressed by bodily demeanor and by speech their shock and disapproval.

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The parents of the children themselves acted strangely. In all states of undress, they hung out of windows, while below mixed adult groups, and groups including children, congregated, drinking beer, joshing, pushing each other about and carrying on in a merry and boisterous way through all hours of the night.

The tenants of our building, guarded more carefully than ever by doormen, made it a point never to loiter outside (which seemed to them a confession of idleness and lack of industry). They were in the habit of going in and out of the building with scarcely anyone seeing or hearing them; they were quiet, inconspicuous, and rarely communicated with neighbors, even though they may have lived together for a quarter of a century.

In contrast, the welfare families lived outside, on the street, conspicuously, loudly, openly. Their social life centered almost exclusively around those who happened to live in the same building. That did not mean it was a serene kind of neighborliness. We never knew when a fist fight or some loud fracas would start and it was not unusual for the occupants of our building to be awakened by a horrible commotion -- even the firing of bullets -- at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. Some of my neighbors were infuriated by such behavior and indignantly called the police, demanding that something be done immediately.

There was one type of behavior, however, that affected my neighbors beyond all others. I cannot say that they liked to see children smoking or engaged in open sex play; it violated their sense of morality. But they could somehow stand that. What they couldn't stand, what frightened them, was the violent, hostile way in which lower-class families found their amusement. An almost palpable atmosphere of aggression and violence hovered over the street. The children would attack an automobile -- literally attack it as locusts attack a field -- climb on top of it, get inside, and by combined, co-operative effort shake and tug until they left it a wreck. The older men would strip the tires from a car and sell them. A three-wheeled delivery bicycle from a local merchant provided a special holiday. The children gathered from nowhere and everywhere, piled on the delivery bicycle, and drove it up and down the street loaded down with humanity. When they made no dent in the vehicle by this misuse, in disgust they poked at it and pushed it in an effort to make it come apart. I have never seen young people work so assiduously as they did riding, pushing, and shaking the cart. They didn't give up until it was completely destroyed. I have seen children, several of whom could not have been more than seven or eight years old, at this job of destruction past 10 p.m.; and they all appeared to be having the merriest time. Even their innocent, friendly play was violent. Suddenly, strong, tall, gangling adolescent boys would dash pell-mell down the street, like stampeding cattle, shrieking and screaming, pushing, shoving, mauling each other.

Of course, this hotel where they lived was not meant for families with many children. Since it was enormous in size, at least fifteen stories high, it probably represented the most concentrated slum of all times, greater than could possibly prevail in Harlem. You might say as I did: "What can you expect? Children have to play. Here they are growing up without a mother, or a mother who never seems to make her presence felt, like animals, without love or warmth, pushing out for some sort of life on the street. Are not these unfortunate children more sinned against than sinning?"

So I spoke to my neighbors. Yet I knew that was not the whole truth. Nearby, within a few blocks, were two magnificent parks: Riverside Drive and Central Park. There they could have green fields and space and freedom. Yet none made a move to play there. Although I believe I understand many other facets of their conduct, this aspect remains a mystery I cannot fathom.

Broadly, this gives you some notion of what happened to a quiet, respectable block when invaded by the lower classes. What happened to my neighbors? First there was general, immediate, universal consternation and some took direct action. Posthaste some moved out; they wouldn't live, they said, with such trash. A second group remained. This group didn't mind the shenanigans, the broken glass, the commotion, but they experienced an awful fear of personal attack. Many of them became so frightened by the invaders that they stayed home at night. The sense of physical peril was probably the most frightening and demoralizing aspect of the situation, though I never heard of anyone being attacked or molested. There was a great deal of damage to parked cars, and we soon learned to avoid that side of the street. It was peculiar to see the gaping empty spaces near the hotel curb, when all around were cars choking for an inch of space.

After the first shock had passed, the tenants of our building took action. The middle class is not without power, which it exercises in its own way (generally of course polite, proper, and without violence). A committee got up a petition and collected signatures asking that a policeman be stationed on our street twenty-four hours a day. A tenant with political connections began to put them to work. I hear that the matter has reached the mayor himself, and that the welfare agency plans to remove families with children from the hotel since, after the petition, the Powers-That-Be agreed that it is an improper place for them.

But these lower-class people are still across the street and the fear remains. Even worse, my middle-class neighbors are convinced that these new people are trash, some monstrous excretion of mankind, a lower order of animal, apart from the human species. So long as such attitudes persist, these unfortunate newcomers -- poverty-stricken, ignorant, addicted to vice, drink, violence, and brutality -- will never be understood in terms of what causes such living: their bleak, helpless, and hopeless state, their lack of identity and purpose. My middle-class neighbors will piously continue to stay aloof, judging them; and this judgmental attitude itself makes the gulf wider. It is inconceivable that our middle-class house will ever join in friendship or good will to these lower-class invaders.

What I was witnessing had enormous meaning for me as a student of education and as one who teaches future teachers. I thought I knew the problem of the lower-class student; it is all explained in the textbook. Like other instructors, I have discussed the problem in polite, academic terms. But this experience made me see clearly and vividly, as nothing else has, how farfetched and remote is our present school system for these children -- in philosophy, methodology, approach, values, and meaning.

In contrast to the lower-class children, how preciously kept is each child in our house; how carefully clothed; how carefully guarded; how often admonished by parents, grandparents, relatives, and friends. In the elevator, the icy tone of the father to his seven-year-old son: "Is that hat glued to your head, John?" How quickly and politely that

hat comes off. How often are they shown pride and love. "My son is the valedictorian of his class. He plans to go to Harvard, get his Ph.D., and teach chemistry." Even our doorman, hard and brusque and violent with lower-class children, takes on a different tone and manner with the building children; to them he is gentle and tender and protective. The children themselves for the most part are loving and lovable. As they imbibe attention and love, as these qualities are poured into them, they have them to give out. If at times the children become rambunctious, the doorman finds it sufficient to threaten them with parental disclosure and they fall in line. There is no discipline problem. From infancy on, they experience discipline.

These children have pride and are conscious of family position. Even if you are a stranger, they will inform you that their father, a lawyer, is involved in some famous current trial; or he has been called to Washington on an important mission; or that their father or grandfather owns this well-known establishment or business. And they tell you with equal pride what they themselves plan to be; and they act as if they have already achieved it and have a right to all the honors thereof.

On school holidays our building takes on a festive air as the children come home from out-of-town schools and colleges. You see a little boy with a ramrod figure sporting a magnificent uniform; he attends a military academy. Parents take special pride in introducing children all around. For these holidays parents have a well-planned schedule -- theaters, lunches downtown, visiting and inter-visiting, parties that their children give and parties that they go to. The building is full of young people coming and going; it is really most pleasant and exciting.

Yes, the children in this middle-class building are solicitously nurtured. Just as the parents seem to have purpose and direction for themselves, so the children seem also to have imbibed purpose and direction. Some of them, still in elementary school, speak of college and careers. Coming home in the afternoon, they hold their books tightly and neatly; for it is obvious that for them books represent important and powerful tools for the future.

What a stark contrast are these children on the opposite side of the street! These children seem to have no purpose, no objective; they seem to live for the moment, and the big objective is to make this moment pass away as amusingly and excitingly as possible. And no matter what, they seem a lot more bored and idle than the middle-class children. They hang around, in gangs or small groups, and in boredom they poke at one another or get into mischief; they are ready for any or everything, but mostly nothing happens and there they are, hanging around in idleness.

Even when playing near the house, the children in our building go to the parks already referred to, and they participate in organized games, or if not, they telephone to a friend or friends to meet and play together. In contrast, the children on the opposite street have many of the characteristics of neglected alley cats, growing up in a fierce, hostile jungle. The children from the two sides of the street never mix. Since the invasion of this new element, the children in our building are more closely supervised than ever; they are so apart in thinking and feeling that functionally they are like two different species.

As I saw these two groups first-hand, I understood how easily middle-class children fit conventional school systems; how almost from infancy they have been trained for the role of a good, conforming member of this institution; and how easily and naturally their middle-class teachers would respond with understanding and affection.

Also, I could see how wrong, how incongruous and meaningless this school was for lower-class children; how their very being was an irritant to it, and it to them; how ill-prepared they were for the demands of the school; how what they were and how they lived would elicit from their middle-class teachers scorn, resentment, rejection, hostility, and -- worst of all -- how these children would create in their teachers fear, a physical sickening fear, as thirty or forty of them crowded together in one room hour after hour, day after day. This was the most demoralizing feature of all. For once fear sets in, you can no longer understand, appreciate, or help; what you want is distance, separation, safety; or if this is impossible, you want the backing of superior strength or a counter fear; and one cannot educate or help another human being through force or fear.

As I thought of what was happening to my block, I was astonished to realize how in nearly all respects our teachers respond to lower-class children just as my house neighbors do. They cannot understand their idleness, their purposelessness, their lack of ambition. They regard such traits as some congenital evil. Like my neighbors, they are indignant and shocked by their sexual frankness, and are astonished and chagrined by parental indifference to children's progress in school. When parents do come to school they may even side with the child against the teacher. Like my neighbors, teachers remain in a perpetual state of fear of these children, at their acting out, their defiance of discipline, their destructiveness and vandalism. "Look at what they did!" a teacher will say, pointing to a desk ripped open or shattered panes of glass, speaking as if some holy altar had been violated. Looking at these lower-class children distantly, unapprovingly, and judgmentally, as my neighbors did, many teachers feel trapped, frightened, helpless. Like my neighbors, when a child gets into trouble with the law, they often take a smug satisfaction in the tragedy, as if their original judgment had been vindicated. "I knew he would come to a bad end." Middle-class virtue is written all over them.

A good case can be and has been made that the only purpose of our educational system is to inculcate middle-class values, to create a middle-class person; and its purpose is not at all to transmit knowledge and subject matter. If this is true, and I am beginning to feel that it is, the main task of our schools, to repeat, is to train children in the proprieties, the conventions, the manners, the sexual restraints, the respect for private property of the middle class; and also to promote such middle-class virtues as hard work; sportsmanship, and ambition -- especially ambition. The aim becomes to create a gentleman, a person striving for high achievement, so that he can attain the middle-class ideal: money, fame, a lavish house in the suburbs, public honors, etc.

I now perceive more clearly why lower-class children are such problems in school, why they do so poorly, why they stand out like sore thumbs. Bluntly put, they don't fit in at all with what the schools and teachers demand, want, and expect.

I now understand why even bright lower-class children do not do nearly as well in school as middle-class children of equal and even lower ability; why bright lower-class children drop out of school even when intellectually capable of doing the work. They never feel part of the institution, their school is not theirs, their team is not theirs, their classmates are not theirs.

Just as the children in my building did not mix with the children on the hotel side of the block, so they do not mix in school. But here in school middle-class children are on home ground; it is their school, their teachers, their clubs, their team, their classmates. Parents of lower-class children also feel strange and remote from the institution, frightened by its conventions. Sometimes a lower-class child, through the influence of some good, loving, middle-class person, generally a teacher, begins to aspire to middle-class status. The parents, instead of reinforcing middle-class values, may resent these new feelings in the child and fear that he is being alienated from them; they will try to keep the child in their own class. I know a fine and able student who applied for a scholarship and was accepted by a prestige college. Her father, a laborer, was incensed at the whole idea. We were turning his daughter's head. A good girl should get a job, come home, help her mother, and get married. When he was told that college and marriage are not incompatible he showed every doubt that the two go together. Then he took another tack. Deep study in college, he said, affects the head, and his daughter had fragile health; he didn't want her to become rattle-brained. Finally he trotted out his last argument: he wasn't going to have his daughter gallivanting off and mixing with those snobs and good-for-nothings. The father won out.

It also happens, undoubtedly with greater frequency in America than in any other major culture, that a lower-class child does break out of his group to enter the middle class. A play, "The Corn Is Green," deals with this theme. It is the true account of a Welsh boy whose teacher, Miss Cooke, out of dedication and devotion, held the youth steadfast in his studies. After many trials, the young man passed his examinations and won an Oxford scholarship. The son of a nursemaid and a seaman, he became an eminent playwright, actor, and director, and, incidentally, the author of "The Corn Is Green."

It sometimes happens that a member of the middle class will flunk out of his class also, although this is quite rare, as a review of your own experience will indicate. Middle-class parents will go to any extreme to save their children for middle-class status. How would an eminent and respected professional person regard his son who worked as a janitor or as a laborer, although the young man might be quite happy with his work and the work right for him? Middle-class parents attempt all kinds of shenanigans to keep their offspring in their class. We all know of the student who fails at a good university, whereupon the parents find a mediocre school where he can obtain the degree. The parents rejoice, for the boy is now a college graduate; he has achieved middle-class status and need not disgrace the family.

I am beginning to feel that if we want to help lower-class children we will have to reorient our thinking and philosophy. We will have to adopt fundamental reforms, radical and crucial in nature, so that the school as an institution will be more nearly in conformity with the cultural and behavioral patterns of this class. I am beginning to think that it might be best if we would enlist in this task the more able and brighter lower-class members, with the hope that they will be better able to cope with the lower-class child. Little good can come to any child when a teacher relates to him with fear and condemnation.

What has long been a national fetish, almost religious in fervor, is the effort to shape all children, regardless of their state or condition, in the middle-class mold. It would appear that the chief end of man is to glorify the middle class. When teachers fail at this task, they regard themselves and the school as failures. I believe that until now we have done a remarkable job in converting this "melting pot" material into a sort of middle-class stew, although frequently of questionable taste and quality.

I raise this question: Should all people strive to become middle-class? Hasn't our middle-class culture produced a society with more than its share of tensions, anxieties, neuroses, and psychoses? How many souls have been blighted, twisted, and distorted by its impossible demands! Middle-class culture, it is true, stresses ambition and achievement, but does it not leave altogether too many of us feeling and thinking of ourselves as failures, even when we have striven mightily and have done our best? And how many, after high achievement, still feel discontented, unhappy, striving ever higher? For there is no end goal to achievement; the goal is almost by definition unattainable. As a clinical psychologist who has seen men and women in travail, I can only say that I have nothing but sympathy for the middle-class child; the demands made on him by parents and his sub-culture are often unbearable. I think of him as frequently caught in a vortex, the victim of uncontrollable forces, so strong that they may destroy him.

In our sanctimonious way, we have assumed that this, our middle-class culture, represents the best of all possible worlds. We have never examined lower-class culture with the view of asking: Is there perhaps something in another way of life to alleviate our own sickness? Like my house neighbors, we have regarded every deviation with moral condemnation. Even if all these feelings about middle-class values are right, even if we should continue to force lower-class children into middle-class molds, shouldn't we recognize that for some children this can never be achieved? It isn't for them, as a duck isn't for running a race with a rabbit. In this world isn't there a need and an honorable place for carpenters, plumbers, and, yes, laborers? Aren't we doing infinite harm to children by our insistence that they be something they cannot be, and then making them feel like failures because they have not achieved what they cannot achieve? Wouldn't it be better if we found out what they can be, and then set about changing our schools so that we can help them, not to become middle-class, but to become the best selves they are capable of becoming?

BODIES, BRAINS, AND POVERTY

by
Joan Dye Gussow

Perhaps it would be useful if for the moment we again thought of "disadvantaged" children simply as poor. It is undeniable that the majority of the children whose educational problems have proved most intractable come from families who are poor--many of them come from families who are very poor--and poverty is demonstrably much more than a social or a cultural condition....Indeed, defining the problems of our impoverished children as "social disadvantage" no less than defining them as "cultural deprivation" has encouraged us to ignore the fact that poverty is first of all a condition of the body, not of the mind. Fundamentally, being poor means having too little money to maintain an adequate standard of living; poverty affects what people eat and what they wear, where they live and what vermin they live with, what diseases they are exposed to and what financial, physical, and emotional resources they possess for battling all these things. Poverty is a material fact of life and has a significant, often lasting, impact on the physical as well as the mental health and well-being of impoverished individuals, especially those unfortunate enough to be born to it.

On the lists of current best sellers is a book of popular physiology entitled The Body Has A Head.[1] What educators ought to keep firmly in mind is the opposite proposition, namely, that the head has a body. As specialists in learning we forget at our peril that the capacity to learn is a characteristic only of a living organism; that children, as learners, are living organisms, not all of whom have been put into physical environments equally supportive to their well-being. That these obvious truths have implications for education is the message of a recent book in whose writing I shared, Disadvantaged Children--Health, Nutrition and School Failure.[2]

It is the major burden of this book that there is an urgent need for a new formulation of the problem of educational handicap among the poor, a formulation "in which the child is seen as a mind in a body, in a world that is both physically and psychologically hazardous." Though "cultural disadvantage" is real, "it is but a fragment of the threat which a poor environment offers to the intellectual development of a child....The poor, from conception until death, are also at differential risk with respect to a whole spectrum of physical hazards, any one of which may be productive of intellectual deficit and educational failure.[3]

IRCD Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Sept. 1970). Reprinted by permission of Teachers College, Columbia University.

[1] Gustav Eckstein, The Body Has a Head (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[2] H.G. Birch and J.D. Gussow, Disadvantaged Children--Health, Nutrition and School Failure (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.--Grune & Stratton, 1970), 322 pp.

[3] Ibid, p. 10.

In demonstrating the proposition that the physical hazards associated with "living poor" must count among the significant educational handicaps of poor children, we sought to ask and answer two kinds of questions: Is there evidence that poor health among mothers and their children is associated with decrements in the mental development and school achievement of those children? and Are there commonly present among the populations which have been characterized as disadvantaged, health conditions sufficiently poor to produce such a decrement? The book concludes that both these questions must be answered in the affirmative.

Since the data and the arguments which support these answers are neither straightforward nor easily condensed, I want merely to indicate the nature of the evidence on which we drew and to discuss the conclusions to which this evidence points. I should then like to consider some of the implications of these conclusions for the schools and the children they are attempting to serve.

The assertion that there exist appalling conditions of nutrition and health among many groups of poor families in this country has in the last year or so become almost a commonplace. That poor children are starving, are being bitten by rats, are disproportionately falling ill with infectious diseases, are dying for lack of hospital care--all these are circumstances which, like war-protests, pollution, and overpopulation, have come to sporadic public attention through the popular press. But such accounts are anecodotal--hard facts are more difficult to come by. The set of facts with which we began are those about the deaths of infants; for in any population infant deaths are tide markers indicating the level of health hazards to which that population is exposed...

CHILDREN WHO DIE

In the United States just over two out of every one hundred children born alive die before their first birthday. This is a relatively poor showing--in fifteen other countries babies are safer at birth--but among some groups in this the richest country in the world, life in its first year is even riskier. On a nationwide basis, nonwhite infants die at almost twice the rate of white infants (a fact which helps to explain the much higher mortality rates of the Southern states). Yet shocking as this differential is, it is actually deceptively low if what we are looking for is the deadly mark of poverty. For vital statistics in this country are not usually divided by social or economic class. In countries where they are, there is a definite pattern of increasing infant death with decreasing economic class; that is, poor infants are more likely to die than well-off ones.

In the United States, where statistics are dichotomized by "color," the economic pattern is more difficult to discern. All shades of people classed as "nonwhite"[4] (Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Orientals, and blacks) are lumped together without regard to economic class. Similarly every economic level of "white," including minorities of Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Cuban origin, are in a single group. Since, however, the great majority of the whites are not Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Cuban in origin, the health statistics of these and other relatively impoverished white groups tend to be swallowed up in the overwhelming number of relatively well-off whites. This is one reason poverty and its effects have been so difficult to "see" among whites. In the same way, although there are differences between the various groups classed as nonwhite--Indians tend to be the poorest and the unhealthiest; Orientals tend to be the best-off and the healthiest--it is the economic characteristics of the blacks, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the group classed as nonwhite, which determine the nonwhite mortality statistics. Thus, the two-to-one ratio of nonwhite to white infant deaths reflects the degree to which poverty and membership in the black minority tend to be associated in this country.

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[4] As of 1970, this group is designated as "all other."

Because of the presence of "poor whites" in the white population, however, and of "rich nonwhites" in the nonwhite population, a comparison of all whites and all nonwhites is actually a comparison of arithmetic means. If we compare extremes, that is, if we compare the infant mortality rate of well-off segments of the white population and impoverished segments of the nonwhite population, the differences in rates of infant death are much more marked. Thus a black baby born in an urban ghetto or in a state like Mississippi (which has the worst infant mortality record in the nation), or an Indian baby born in many parts of the southwest or Alaska, is three to four times more likely to die than a white baby born in a well-to-do neighborhood.

Proceeding from the assumption that where so many children are dying, health conditions must be poor, we drew on the admittedly limited statistics on hunger and illness available in this country in order to compare first, the conditions under which advantaged and disadvantaged children are conceived and born; and second, the health conditions which they experience in infancy and childhood.

THE HEALTH OF MOTHERS

If one compares the reproductive histories of women who are poor and those who are not, it is evident that poor children, especially poor children who bear the additional handicap of ethnic difference, have mothers who are subject to higher rates of almost every major abnormality associated with reproduction--among them various illnesses and complications during pregnancy, difficulties at the time of delivery, and abnormalities of the period immediately after birth. Since low birthweight is so intimately associated with these other risk conditions, groups which experience high rates of prematurity can be assumed to be at similarly high risk of other reproductive abnormalities. Using low birthweight as a generalized indicator of such reproductive risk, we were able to show that not only is this risk much greater for nonwhite than for white babies, but that it has been getting relatively worse. Between 1950 and 1968 the proportion of underweight babies in the newborn nonwhite population went up from 10.8 percent to 13.7 percent, while the incidence of underweight births among whites remained constant. The effect of this differential movement was a nonwhite prematurity rate which by 1968 was almost double the white rate of 7.1 percent. During the same eighteen-year period, while the median birthweight of whites remained constant, the median birthweight among nonwhites went down....

We went on to examine at some length the question of how poverty produces such excessive reproductive dysfunction among poor women, and concluded that as a result of her economic and ethnic status, and the adverse social patterns associated with it, the poor woman falls on the risk side of the ledger in regard to a whole constellation of factors which can adversely affect reproductive performance--not the least of these being her chronic lesser access to methods for limiting her family. Compared to women in the middle class, poor women "tend to be less well grown, and less well cared for before they reach childbearing age. When they reach it they begin to bear children younger, more rapidly and more often, and they continue to bear them to an older age. When such a mother is pregnant both her nutrition and her health will tend to be poorer than that of a woman who is better off, but she will be far less likely to get prenatal care and far more likely to be delivered under substandard conditions."

Thus, it is as a result of their own exposure to a complex of unfavorable conditions, that poor women experience high rates of reproductive abnormalities; these abnormal reproductive events in their turn expose poor children, even before they have drawn breath, to abnormally high levels of biologic risk.

THE HAZARDS OF INFANCY

For such children risk is compounded at delivery. Often smaller and in poorer condition at birth than children of the more affluent, infants born into poverty are set down, young and vulnerable, into the same surroundings which have been unhealthy for their mothers. Their urgent need is for a maximally fostering environment--but this need can seldom be met in the substandard and often overcrowded housing available to their families. They are, like all infants, rapidly growing organisms with a primary requirement for adequate nutrition; yet for a variety of reasons the mothers of these infants are often unable to feed them adequately.... Data from the National Nutrition Survey and a similar study of preschool children have now confirmed on a representative sample of the poor that children in impoverished families are often malnourished from early infancy on, sometimes severely so. The fact is now established, as Dr. Arnold Schaefer, head of the National Nutrition Survey, reported recently, that "the poorer you are the more likely you are to suffer from serious malnutrition," and such malnutrition is particularly serious among young children.

But malnutrition is not the only postnatal hazard to which these children are subject. As a group, poor children receive little or no well-baby care and are thus less likely than children from better-off homes to have been immunized against infective illnesses. Yet their poor nutrition and their generally poor living conditions enhance their vulnerability, while the high levels of infectious disease in the communities in which they live put these children at special risk of exposure to infection. Not surprisingly, in many cities certain severe infectious illnesses occur almost exclusively in ghetto areas, and it is in these same overcrowded and underserviced neighborhoods that epidemic flare-ups occur.

Moreover, despite the fact that poor children--and poor minority group children in particular--are sick more often and more seriously than children who are not poor, they are less likely to stay in bed, to see a doctor, or to be hospitalized for illness than are children in better-off families, and at school age they are less likely to stay out of school because they are sick. Among such families, medical care is likely to be sought, as is dental care, only when an emergency demands it. Thus, chronic handicapping conditions often go untreated, and teeth go unfilled; eyes and ears go untested, vision and hearing uncorrected." Even on the basis of the scattered but provoking evidence that is available, we can fairly infer that there exists a vast though largely uncharted region of undernutrition, malnutrition, and disease among the poor children in this country."[5]...

HEALTH AND LEARNING

It is a truth beyond disputing that such sorry conditions of life ought not to exist for any of the children of the richest nation the world has ever known. Since they do, however, it is important to ask what the implications are, for education, of this pattern of poverty-induced ill-health. In order to answer such a question it is necessary to consider the different mechanisms whereby the biological hazards of poverty may induce intellectual handicap, since each of these may imply a different response from the schools.

There are at least three different major routes by which poor children's exposure to hunger and ill-health might affect their school achievement. We can begin to consider them by asking a question framed as follows: Can we expect some excess number of poor children to suffer actual physical or neurological damage as a consequence of their excessive exposure to (1) abnormalities of the reproductive process, (2) hunger, sickness, and poor health care during the preschool years, or (3) both of these sets of hazards consecutively?...

In regard to the aftereffects of reproductive complication, certain facts are clear. Compared to normal pregnancies and births, pregnancies marked by complications or illnesses, and births which are difficult or premature (or both), will result in the production of an excess number of children who suffer from major physical or neurological damage--cerebral palsy, blindness, epilepsy, severe mental defect. Poor children, exposed as they are to their mothers' higher rates of reproductive abnormality, will thus experience higher rates of such severe damage than will children whose mothers are not poor.

In addition, the kinds of hostile postnatal environments to which we have already alluded will also produce a certain number of major casualties among the children exposed to them. "Children overexposed to accidents or illness, or to the effects of early or persistent nutritional deprivation, are clearly more likely to suffer direct interferences with either the development or the integrity of the nervous system, whether from a variety of infective agents, nutrient lacks, or biochemical abnormalities than are children leading more protected, well-nourished, and medically supervised lives."[6] To give but one very current example: Ingested lead can cause serious brain damage. During the first four months of 1970 there were 260 cases of lead poisoning in New York City alone, almost exclusively among small children from families in poverty areas of the city who had eaten lead-containing paint flaked-off from the walls of the decaying buildings which were their homes. It has been estimated that between 225,000 and 300,000 children in the United States have elevated levels of lead from such sources in their blood; and chronic lead poisoning is simply one of the more exotic hazards to which the brains of children living in impoverished circumstances are exposed.

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[5] Ibid., p. 260.

To acknowledge that poor children have been disproportionately exposed to high levels of risk both before and after birth is to recognize that they have doubtless suffered a disproportionate share of serious physical or neurological damage. The shape of the school's obligation to such seriously handicapped children has already been denied--as "special education"--even if it has not to date been successfully met. In view of the schools' present limited success with remedial programs notwithstanding, it is clear that many handicapped children, even those with significant degrees of brain damage, can be brought to relatively high levels of competence if their degree and type of dysfunction are mapped and appropriate educational measures are devised to "work around" their handicaps and exploit their areas of strength.

To guarantee that all children who need special education get it, and that they get what they need within it, will require careful assessment of every pupil who exhibits a learning deficit. Ideally, of course, every child we seek to educate--not just those with learning problems--should have his special characteristics as a learner carefully assessed. We live, alas, in a less than ideal world; given the nature of the environments in which disadvantaged children grow from conception onward, we must at least attend carefully to the possibility that among these children educationally significant neurological or physical handicaps may underlie some problems which have heretofore been defined as deriving from a globally defined "low IQ" or from inadequate or inappropriate socialization.

DAMAGE AND DEFICIT

It is important to recognize, however, that even if, as a result of such a redefiniton, substantial numbers of children were newly classified as neurologically handicapped, this kind of handicap would still account for a relatively small percentage of the learning retardation which concerns us....The critical issue is not only whether somewhat more children than we had previously thought are profoundly damaged as a consequence of

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[6] Ibid., p. 260.

their biological histories, but whether there are large numbers of other children, apparently undamaged, who come to school handicapped as learners as a direct or indirect consequence of their exposure to a succession of physiological insults. It was suggested earlier that there were at least three ways in which the biological hazards of poverty might produce educational handicap. The first of these has already been discussed: excessive exposure to acute physical hazards can be expected to produce an excessive incidence of serious damage among "disadvantaged" children. What is here being pointed out is that educational handicap among poor children may also arise from exposure to a succession of lesser biological assaults which succeed and reinforce each other.

There is good evidence to suggest that such a piling up of insult does occur--with adverse intellectual consequences--where reproductive complications are concerned. Of the major reproductive abnormalities, only prematurity has been followed up in sufficiently large populations so that subtle damage which may result from it can be convincingly demonstrated. Considering the evidence from several long-term studies of low birthweight infants, our research led us to conclude that the single circumstance of being underweight at birth probably does not result in a significant intellectual handicap for children who grow up in advantaged homes....For the child born prematurely into poverty, however, prematurity is a stress uncompensated for in postnatal life; for children from the poorest homes, premature birth is associated with a significant depression in IQ...."For one part of the population, low birthweight seems to be a condition that can push an individual over the brink, whereas for many other parts of the population, not under additional conditions of stress, it appears to be a relatively trivial event "[7]

LIFE AFTER BIRTH

Life in the rotting central cities and in the less deprived rural and suburban slums, is a hazardous affair, even for the child who starts out even--the child who, though poor, is the fortunate product of a normal pregnancy and birth. It was earlier pointed out that some of the environmental hazards of an impoverished infancy may produce frank injury to the nervous system; but it must be emphasized that neither widespread starvation nor brain-damaging infection need be demonstrated in order to support the conclusion that hunger and disease are cripplers of the minds of millions of American children....

While there is no evidence that extreme starvation is common in this country, what is true is that there are unacceptabl large numbers of children who suffer from almost chronic hunger, and the almost chronic state of ill-health and frequent infection which accompany it. The adverse intellectual effects of such a childhood "need not be primarily or even most significantly the result of 'brain damage' but rather the consequences of any or all of a number of possible indirect effects."[8] Of the ways that poor health and malnutrition in infancy may operate to produce intellectual retardation at school age, two can be mentioned here. The first of these has to do simply with the loss of learning time. A child who is hospitalized, bedridden, housebound, or simply inactive because of illness will lose time for contact with his playmates, his neighbors, his world. The middle-class child, whose illnesses are occasional and who recovers from them to optimal health in a maximally fostering environment, may make up the lost learning time. The poor child, who seldom if ever experiences really good health and whose acute illnesses are likely to be more frequent and more serious, may find catching up out of the question.

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[7] H.G. Birch, "Research Issues in Child Health IV: Some Philosophic and Methodologic Issues," *Pediatrics*, 45: 874 (May 1970).

A second source of learning retardation is the altered character of the sick child himself. He not only loses contact with the world because he is less active, he loses contact because he is less responsive. "One of the first effects of ill-health is an alteration in the child's responsiveness to stimulation and the emergence of various degrees of irritability or apathy."[9] An irritable or apathetic child is always a less pleasant stimulus object than a happy one; to adults who are likely already overtaxed, he may be positively aversive. Thus, a child's own reduced responsiveness to the environment, human and otherwise, may be reinforced by the human environment's reduced responsiveness to him. If such a pattern persists for some time, it may result in significantly diminished opportunities for learning.

As a result of experiences such as these, children who have been frequently hungry and sick in childhood may reach school age as handicapped learners, handicapped not by some physically measurable damage, but by their histories of reduced interaction with the environment....Many a child will be "experientially deprived" because when learning experiences were there to be had, he was not always fully able to exploit them.

Such a statement is almost impossible to "prove"; that is, it is exceedingly difficult to isolate these specific consequences of poverty simply because so many other circumstances unfavorable to optimum mental development turn up, along with hunger and poor health, in impoverished families. Moreover, it has tended, in practice, to be difficult to demonstrate the "aftereffects" of early biological stress for another and even more poignant reason; that is because the same conditions which are threatening to the health of poor children in infancy tend, more often than not, to persist into the school years.

This is a fact critical to recognize if we are to be educationally effective. If children's early and repeated exposure to biological stress has caused them to fall behind their peers in learning skills, it is not inconceivable that such retardation can be fully made up by appropriately devised "compensatory programs." But it is exceedingly doubtful whether any such programs can succeed in the face of hunger and ill-health which are not merely historical but urgently contemporary.

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[8] Birch and Gussow, p. 261

[9] Ibid., p. 262.

To focus on the effects of deprivation in early childhood as if that deprivation somehow ended at the schoolroom door is to indulge in wishful thinking, for it is children's present deprivation, not only their history of it which represents the third route through which poverty may interfere with school achievement.

> It would be misleading (as Disadvantaged Children puts it) if one were to conclude....that malnutrition and illness were significant hazards to children only in early infancy or only as a consequence of their "permanent" effects. It must not be overlooked that the child's present hunger and illness also immediately affect his level of attention, his interest, his motivation to learn--in short his achievement in the classroom. Unless we intend to feed children today it may be interesting, but unimportant to their prospects, to decide whether the effects of yesterday's hunger will continue to affect their mental development tomorrow. Since mental development is a process, perhaps only relatively more vulnerable to interruption at one point than at another, it is difficult to imagine that anything in the environment which interfered for a significant time with learning could fail to affect mental development. The real children in our classrooms are not like animals in the laboratory who can be rehabilitated at time appropriate to their development and convenient to a researcher. In the real world it may actually be quite unimportant whether the effects of nutritional stress are organic, biochemical, or emotional. Whether or not damage is permanent must be irrelevant in the face of a deprivation which is; the same children whose mothers were ill-fed and unready for pregnancy, who are born into poverty and survive an infancy of hunger and illness, are seldom miraculously saved in the third act.[10]

It would seem essential then that the schools do something more than watch with interest while the scientists are determining just how persistent are the intellectual effects of earlier malnutrition and illness. While the measurements are proceeding, the schools could at least see to it that no child presently sits in the classroom too hungry, too sick or too exhausted to learn. Unfortunately it will probably not be enough for the schools simply to lend their moral support to someone else's efforts to provide for children's physical needs. If children are to be made ready for learning today, then the schools will doubtless have to accept the responsibility of meeting whichever of their basic needs are not being currently met. What is being suggested is quite straightforward, namely that the schools provide, as a matter of course, breakfast and lunch for children who come to school hungry, rest corners for children who come to school tired or ill, physicans to attend to urgent physical problems, and systems for seeing to it that chronic handicapping conditions are actually treated, not merely acknowledged and referred...

Now a number of objections might be raised to the notion that the schools should provide extensive health and feeding services for children. Not the least of these is a financial one. The schools are, by their own accounts, already taxed to the limit providing special

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[10] Ibid., pp. 262-263.

programs for disadvantaged children. What possible justification can there be for adding yet another responsibility to those the schools already bear? On a cost-benefit basis, it might well be worth finding out whether biological services would pay their own way. Superintendent Taylor's[11] testimony suggests that such services might lower the incidence of truancy and tardiness, cut down on behavior problems and substantially reduce the number of children retained in grade....

A second objection to providing health and nutrition services to children through the schools would probably be that meeting such needs falls outside the mandate of the school, that it is a "welfare" task, not an educational one. If "welfare" is defined as anything that is done to make a child comfortable, it could as well be argued that heating school buildings in winter is also a welfare task, since we have no evidence that children need to be warm to learn any more than they need to be well or well fed. But a more realistic answer to questions about the proper function of the school is that many schools are presently performing a "welfare" function in feeding children lunch. There is little educational justification for feeding children lunch--indeed there is less educational justification for feeding children lunch than there is for feeding them breakfast--a fact that the Panthers, with their breakfast programs, have understood better than the rest of us. Most learning in school takes place before lunch, and while a meal might theoretically serve as a reinforcer for a hungry child, getting lunch is not--and probably should not be--made contingent upon a pupil's morning performance in the classroom. If we can feed hungry children only one meal, then let us not make them sit through a morning of classes on an empty stomach. Let us feed them breakfast, teach them something, and send them home hungry. Maybe that way, they'll at least want to come back to school tomorrow.

There is, of course, one last argument which can be advanced against the notion that the schools should provide for children's physical needs --that is that we can't prove it will help them learn. The successes reported by Superintendent Taylor and a few others are, in scientific terms, merely anecdotal assertions that good health does make a difference. The hard scientific evidence to support the notion that children's present biological condition correlates with their learning is best described as fragile. There are a few studies--one fairly old one linking blood levels of Vitamin C to IQ, two more recent ones evaluating the effect of iron-deficiency anemia on various measures of functioning. For what it is worth, they have all tended to show that children who were better nourished did better. But the fact remains that there are, so far as I have been able to determine, no controlled studies which show whether the child who is very hungry is unable to work as well in school as one who is not hungry--or even whether he is just unwilling to.

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[11] Superintendent of Schools in San Diego County, Texas.

We have no convincing evidence to sustain the notion that too little sleep or too many cavities actually hinder the learning process. That is to say, we cannot at the moment prove, on the basis of scientific evidence, that children would profit educationally if they were provided with all the health and nutrition services which they needed.

This being the case, there is one question we need to ask. Is it rational (or humane) to attempt to teach anything at all to a child who is hungry or sick or tired or all three? If it is not, then we shall probably have to go ahead and feed hungry children breakfast, and put sick or exhausted children to bed, and take care of the eyes and ears and teeth and other broken parts of children whose health has been neglected, just because it seems like the only sensible thing to do, and not because we are convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that such an approach will result in a 23.6 percent improvement in their SAT scores. At the very least we will then be teaching these children--and their parents--that someone cares about their hunger, their fatigue, and their illness--which is much more positive than some of the things they are learning now.

Turn in, completed, if you are working for "A" level in Module V.

REACTION SHEET - SIMULATION LABORATORY

Having participated in the simulation laboratory, find a poem which expresses your reaction to the experience or write your own poem. Write the poem on this page and share it with your instructors.

SAMPLE

Your name ______________________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

Turn in, completed, if you are working for "A" level in Module V.

REACTION SHEET - SIMULATION LABORATORY

Having participated in the simulation laboratory, find a poem which expresses your reaction to the experience or write your own poem. Write the poem on this page and share it with your instructors.

Your name ______________________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

MODULE V - STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

Part II - Exceptional Students

Rationale

While it is a frequently-stated truism that every child brings different needs and different capacities to a learning situation, in practice, prospective teachers may tend to categorize all children of the same age together regarding cognitive, affective and psychomotor capacities. Prospective teachers may think that children with special needs and problems can be "shunted off" for another teacher to deal with in a special class. This is not true. Today's classroom teacher works to provide equal educational opportunity for all students.

Objectives

Upon completion of this module, the student will be able to define exceptional children and other basic terms such as mainstreaming, mentally retarded, gifted, etc. It is intended that the student will begin to have a feeling for what it means to be an exceptional child.

Materials

Tape and slide presentation, "A Walk in Another Pair of Shoes"

Allen, Richard C. "Challenges in the Legal Sphere: Law and the Mentally Retarded"

Birch, Jack. "Reasons for Mainstreaming"

Birch, Jack. "The Terminology of Mainstreaming"

Corvin, Gerda. "Tell Him---"

Cruickshank, "Inner City Simulation Laboratory" (Located in Center)

Pieper, Elizabeth J. "Preparing Children for a Handicapped Classmate"

Posner, Bernard. "Five Days as a Retarded Laundry Worker"

Environment

Center

Classroom (Duncan Hall)

Activities and Assessment

"C" level of competency

All students will:

1. View the tape and slide presentation "A Walk in Another Pair of Shoes";
2. Read Birch, pages 303-309.
3. Read Pieper, pages 319-322.
4. Pass Test C.

"B" level of competency

All students will:

1. View the tape and slide presentation "A Walk in Another Pair of Shoes";
2. Read Birch, pages 303-309.
3. Read Pieper, pages 319-322.
4. Pass Test C;
5. Read Allen, pages 279-301.
6. Discuss the questions contained in the article in a seminar. Small seminar sections will be scheduled. Sign up. Speak up!

"A" level of competency

All of #1-6 above, plus,

7. Read Posner pages 323-328; and Corvin, pages 311-317;
8. Take part in scheduled activities using Cruickshank's "Inner City Simulation Laboratory." (This activity is also the "A" requirement for Part I).
9. Complete Reaction Sheet, page 328b.

LAW AND THE MENTALLY RETARDED

by
Richard C. Allen

INTRODUCTION

The Task Force on Law of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation, appointed by President Kennedy in 1961 to prepare a "National Plan to Combat Mental Retardation," began its report with a quotation from an English law book of the early eighteenth century:

> [I]t is most certain that our Law hath a very great and tender consideration for Persons naturally Disabled...The Law protects their Persons, preserves their rights and Estates, Excuseth their Laches, and assists them in their Pleadings... They are under the Special Aid and Protection of his Equity, who is no less than Keeper of the King's conscience...[1]

And on the facade of that magnificent marble edifice which houses the Supreme Court of the United States is a hallowed phrase, which is the keystone of American jurisprudence: "Equal Justice under Law." But for the mentally retarded, these words, on parchment and stone, and spanning three centuries of the most creative epoch of the common law, have brought neither equality before the law nor protection of basic rights.[2]

A century or less ago, when most people, even many in the learned professions, looked upon the retarded as hopelessly incapable, often dangerous, almost subhuman creatures, they were not often thought of as having legally enforceable rights. Indeed, when the term "rights" was used in relation to the mentally retarded, the reference was usually to the prerogative accorded to relatives and creditors to obtain appointment of a guardian or conservator to prevent waste or destruction of any property that might come into the possession of the retardate; or perhaps was to the "right" of society to protect itself against the retardate's derelictions and unwanted offspring by confining and sterilizing him, generally on no more proof than the fact of his intellectual impairment. Today we know that the mentally retarded are far from "hopeless," need be neither dangerous nor promiscuous, can be good citizens and even good parents, and that in most cases they can be trained to become self-sustaining contributors to society rather than burdens upon it.

The author had the great pleasure and privilege of presenting a paper at the Fourth International Congress of the International League of Societies for the Mentally Handicapped, held in Jerusalem in October, 1968. The theme of that meeting, "From Charity to Rights," charts the course which, in the author's opinion, must be taken if the mentally retarded -- the inherently unequal -- are to enjoy the elemental right of all citizens to equal justice. Improvement of laws and administrative regulations is an important segment of that journey, but far from all of

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Chapter 27, "The Law and the Mentally Retarded," from Psychiatric Approaches to Mental Retardation, edited by Frank J. Menolascino, Copyright 1970 by Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York.

it. Research conducted over the last half-dozen years by the Institute of Law, Psychiatry, and Criminology of The George Washington University has provided ample proof of the aphorism of Spinoza, that "He who tries to fix and determine everything by law will inflame rather than correct the vices of the world."[3] Among the shoals along the way are our prejudices and traditional ways of dealing with the retarded; there is as well the Scilla of "administrative convenience" and the Charybdis of chronic inadequacies in the investment of human and physical resources. And just beneath the surface, and therefore the more hazardous, lie the barriers to effective communication about mental retardation and its associated legal problems.

THE SEMANTICS OF MENTAL RETARDATION

In commenting upon the myriad of terms infesting statutes dealing with guardianship and incompetency, the author observed (Allen et al., 1968b):

> The cliche, "It's all a question of semantics," is a facile and inaccurate -- albeit a convenient -- explanation for the vagaries of human interaction. Yet, one is tempted to apply it to the problems and confusions that abound in the area of determinations of civil incompetency. By sheer weight of numbers, the terms which must be contended with pose a formidable communications barrier.

When one adds to the picture the other aspects of legal regulations and the bewildering array of technical, institutional, and colloquial terms which have been applied to the retarded (most of which seem somehow to have found their way into law), both numbers and confusion are compounded.

Most of the communication problems in the world of the mentally retarded and the law are problems of innocence. They are engendered by the ambiguity of words and their reification, by the difficulties of traversing disciplinary and jurisdictional lines,[4] and by the inevitable limitations of both scientific and legal knowledge. But sometimes words are artfully chosen to cloak or distort meaning, as where "occupational therapy" becomes an euphemism for menial housekeeping tasks performed for the benefit of the institution, or "seclusion" for punitive jailing. Again, in one state, the statutes require appointment of an attorney to represent one against whom a commitment is sought, if requested by the alleged retardate, his parent, or guardian. Any such request, however, is met with the response: "But this is a medical hearing, and all we are concerned with is the child's welfare." The request is usually withdrawn.

The origins of many of the terms in use will, perhaps, never be known with certainty,[5] but not all of them are obscure or ambiguous. The name of one residential care institution still in operation in this country could not more clearly reveal the attitudes of the legislators who established it: "Institution for Defective Females of Childbearing Age."

In 1963, the California State Legislature created a Study Commission on Mental Retardation to conduct research and make recommendations on planning and implementation of appropriate state and local policies and services, including revisions in state law. As its initial task, the Commission compiled and published a compendium of state statutes affecting the retarded, taken from nineteen state codes (including such diverse codifications as Unemployment Insurance and Fish and Game Laws) and covering some twenty-three major topics.

In many respects, the California mental health statutes are better drafted (and contain fewer epithetical anachronisms) than those of many other states. To illustrate, however, the plethora of terms under which legal protections, restrictions, regulations, and services are provided (or withheld) in every state, a "head count" was made. The California laws contain more than fifty different terms apparently intended to include or exclude mentally retarded persons, application of which may control the rendition of a protective service, provide a basis for institutionalization, or determine the existence of jural and civil rights (to make a contract, vote, drive a car, marry, have custody of children, and so on). Some recall older medical nosologies ("idiot," "imbecile"); some have no discernible meaning ("entirely without understanding," "deranged"); and some are inappropriate to the subject matter of the statute (for example, use of the term "incompetent" to describe one found eligible for institutional care); but most are merely ambiguous, leaving it quite uncertain whom the legislature intended to denominate ("mentally irresponsible person," "unsound mind").

Among the findings made by the Institute of Law, Psychiatry, and Criminology in a recent study of state statutes and regulations affecting the retarded and their families (Newman, 1967) are the following:

1. There is no agreement upon a basic generic term descriptive of the class of persons for whom institutionalization, guardianship or other protective service may be appropriate. A number of primary terms are used, which are either undefined in the statute or are defined through use of secondary terms of equally uncertain meaning.
2. In many state institutionalization laws it is quite unclear whether a distinction is made between the mentally retarded and the mentally ill.[6]
3. In 25 states "inability to manage oneself or one's affairs" is the critical determination in an institutionalization proceeding, although such lack of capacity is clearly relevant to a proceeding to determine civil competency and the need for a guardian, and is not apposite to a determination of the need for institutionalization. And the test is the same for children as for adults, although "inability to manage oneself or one's affairs" would be as characteristic of the normal as of the retarded child of tender years.
4. Other definitional criteria, such as "need for care, supervision, control or guidance," which exist in over half the states, and variously stated social, vocational and educational handicaps (inability to learn, adapt, earn, adjust, support, compete, etc.) also applicable in more than half, are not adequate to distinguish between retarded persons in need of institutionalization and those for whom alternatives to residential care are more appropriate.

5. Statutes and administrative rules regulating marriage and driver's licensure, voting, occupational employment, and the validity of wills, contracts and conveyances, employ equally ambiguous terminology; and often use of identical terms in each of several areas of jural activity results in a presumption of incompetency for *all* purpopes when one is found to be in need of a *particular* protective service.
6. Similarly, agency and institutionally applied terms result in unwarranted limitations, as with the child denominated "trainable" who is thereby denied exposure to "educational" programs from which he might well benefit.

Before leaving the subject of semantics, mention should be made of the ubiquitous IQ score as a method of institutional legal, social, and educational classification. Whatever differences of opinion may exist among educators, psychologists, physicians, welfare workers, and institutional superintendents with respect to mental retardation, on two points, at least, there seems to be unanimity: first, that an IQ score standing alone says very little and should never be the sole basis for making critical decisions about a person; and second, that because of the imprecision of definitions and ambiguity of terminology, IQ scores are the only practicable common language. Unfortunately, legal status is too often determined on the basis of a single IQ scoring, despite the reservations expressed by all who participate in the classification process.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Institutionalization of Children under Six

First admissions to residential care institutions for the mentally retarded are predominately children. Therefore, as a part of our study of the mentally retarded and the law, the Institute of Law, Psychiatry, and Criminology interviewed obstetricians, pediatricians, psychiatrists, and institutional superintendents in seven states to determine their attitudes concerning institutionalization of young children. Comparing the results with those of earlier studies, we concluded that there is a growing trend favoring home care of very young children whenever possible. However, many, including most of the obstetricians interviewed (who have perhaps least contact with retarded children, but whose opinion may weigh most heavily with parents at that traumatic time of first discovery of an apparent impairment), still urge institutionalization of retarded children under six, even in the face of parental objection (especially in the case of the mongoloid child, whom they view with despairing negativism). In fact, a majority of obstetricians said they would recommend institutionalization of *all* infants recognized as retarded where there are other children in the home. Only 17 per cent of the pediatricians and psychiatrists and none of the institutional physicians would agree.

Our laws seem to operate on the premise that institutionalization is for the benefit of the child; indeed many urge that institutionalization on parental application should be made as easy as possible. Yet, it would seem that a great many children are institutionalized less for their own benefit than for the comfort of others. Because it is believed that the retarded -- and retarded children as well -- do indeed have "rights," the author would be inclined to differ with the Task Force on Law of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation and require judicial approval in any case in which institutionalization is based not on the needs of the child but on the needs of others, in order that appropriate resolution may be made of the perhaps conflicting interests of the child and his family, and that use of alternatives to residential care may be explored.

Institutionalization Procedures

Where judicial procedures are required for admission to a residential care institution, our researches disclosed that in most courts a petition for commitment is invariably approved. Rarely does a court inquire into the possibility of utilizing community resources instead of institutionalization. Indeed, rarely is the judge even aware of them.

In only one of the jurisdictions in which empirical research was undertaken did the proceedings appear to be an inquiry into the merits of the case. In one of the two courts observed, three of forty petitions were disapproved; and in the second (which required testing of the alleged retardate by its own clinicians), ten of forty-one petitions were disapproved. Of the cases dismissed, four of the children were found not sufficiently retarded to require institutionalization, and nine were found not mentally retarded (one, for example, was found intellectually normal, but deaf).

Our studies disclosed hundreds of "displaced persons" -- retarded children and adults in mental hospitals and children with a primary diagnosis of mental illness in schools for the retarded. Admission of the retarded to state mental hospitals is sometimes the result of ignorance or mistaken diagnosis, but more often it is knowingly permitted because of the crowded conditions of state training schools. Some training schools blame the courts for improperly committing mentally ill children because the state hospital has no facilities for children and they "have no place else to go." Both groups of children suffer as the result of their "displacement."

It has been long known that institutionalization and legal incompetency are quite different, though related, concepts. Thus, a determination that a mentally retarded person is in need of institutional care should not automatically deprive him of his civil rights. Yet in two of the states in which we conducted studies, although the law expressly declares that institutional commitment does not of itself constitute a finding of legal incompetency, other statutes and hospital regulations prohibit all residents of institutions for the retarded from holding a driver's license, making a will, marrying, executing a contract (even one involving a small purchase or a magazine subscription), and from having any right of management of property (Allen et al., 1968b).

Legal Status and "Treatment" in the Residential Care Institution

In every state there is a need for many more community facilities to serve as alternatives to residential care: day-care centers, sheltered workshops, recreational programs, family casework, job placement, private boarding facilities, developmental centers, and the like. In addition, residential care institutions suffer from severe shortages of funds and trained personnel. At one institution, for example, with a patient population of over 3,500, only four patients have been placed in day work in the community; and at another, with a high proportion of educable patients, there is no educational program at all. In several states little or nothing has been done to develop vocational training, and work assignments are based more on institutional needs than on habilitation of the patients.

The opening sentence in the recently published compendium of policy statements on residential care approved by the Board of Directors of the National Association for Retarded Children (N.A.R.C.) is this indictment of state residential institutions for the retarded (National Association for Retarded Children, 1968): "The failure to eliminate dehumanization in state institutions throughout the United States is testimony that the work of the National Association for Retarded Children is far from finished."

The Task Force on Law of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation urged that"...every means should be sought to minimize the need for physical restraint and to scrutinize its use." Most institutions, we found, employ "seclusion" and other restraints as means of protecting patients or controlling their behavior, and in most institutions they are applied humanely and in the interest of the patient. In some, however, discretion to employ them is given to untrained ward attendants, and that discretion is often exercised less for the patient's well-being than for the comfort of the staff. In one institution, seclusion was regularly applied for much longer periods than permitted by hospital regulations and under conditions which would not be permitted in the most repressive penal institution. In another, ward attendants had obtained prescriptions for tranquilizing drugs at one time or another for many of the patients in their wards. Once obtained, these prescriptions are refilled and administered by attendants with no medical control whatever.

Subtler, but perhaps of even more insidious effect, are the intrusions into a patient's dignity as a human being that occur not through malice but for "administrative convenience." The N.A.R.C. policy statement notes (National Association for Retarded Children, 1968):

> Lack of privacy, lack of personal possessions, lack of involvement in decisions affecting oneself, lack of praise for a job well done, lack of feeling that someone cares, lack of being recognized as an individual with ability and potential for growth, enforced and unnecessary regimentation, being ignored, living in crowded unattractive wards -- these are but a few of the many kinds of conditions which can and do exist in residential facilities and which contribute greatly to dehumanization.

Nor are the effects of such dehumanizing treatment of relevance only with respect to the "educables" and "trainables." Our field investigators observed wards for the profoundly retarded containing "crib cases": children whom the attendants explained to them "don't walk much." The field researchers, unsophisticated in institutional methods, noted also in their reports that in many instances there was nothing to walk to -- no toys, no playroom, nothing to entice a child from the world of his crib. In one instance, a "nonambulatory" child was taken from such a ward and given special care in a program conducted by a child psychologist and supported by a small grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health. With weeks of effort and skilled attention, the child did learn to walk. Then, when the grant ran out she had to be returned to the ward, where she is now living -- as a "crib case."

Laboring under severe shortages of money and trained personnel, institutional officials express uncertainty as to the objectives their institutions can or should try to meet. Should emphasis be placed upon teaching the educable retardate? Inculcating personal and work skills among the trainables? Providing short-term care during family emergencies or vacation periods for retardates who live at home? Providing custodial care for the severely and profoundly retarded? Offering day-care, vocational placement, and other services? Each of the foregoing? Many institutional personnel expressed to us the view that the residential care facility had become a "dumping ground," enjoined vaguely to accomplish all of these ends, but with insufficient resources to do a good job at any of them. And many expressed doubt that a large, multipurpose residential facility is the appropriate vehicle to accomplish them in any case.

Some of the institutions visited in our study retest all inmates periodically (periodicity ranges from one to five years, with two institutions, in different states, testing at varying intervals based upon age and IQ level); others retest only when change of status is under consideration (for example, placement in a new program, reported evidence of marked progress or deterioration, and so on). In some institutions what testing is done fails to meet even minimal standards of adequacy: in one such institution, the position of psychologist is unfilled and has been for some time, and no testing is being done; in another, the psychologist-resident ratio is so out of proportion that initial testing cannot be carried out for all incoming residents; and in a third, some residents (presumably being prepared for community placement) had not been tested in thirty years!

Periodic staff review of the status of all residents (and, in at least some cases, periodic psychological retesting as well) would seem essential to insure appropriate treatment and release to the community as soon as insitutional care is no longer required. Equally important is that staff decision-making be subject to review by some disinterested outside authority. The Task Force on Law of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation recommended a system of guardianship for institutionalized retardates and, in addition, judicial review of the need for continued institutionalization when a resident reaches the age of twenty-one and every two years thereafter. A majority of the judges and half of the institutional administrators whom we interviewed opposed such judicial review (generally on the grounds that it is unnecessary and would be unduly burdensome and expensive). Yet many institutions do not now provide comprehensive staff review on a resident's attaining the age of maturity or periodically thereafter, and for the most part there is no review of institutional decision-making by external authorities (only a small minority of retardates, whether in or out of institutions, have guardians).

The new (1965) New Jersey law, which has been called a "bill of rights" for retardates, requires examination of all institutional residents prior to their reaching the age of twenty-one. If it is determined that a resident will need continued protection and supervision, his parents are notified and asked whether they plan to have a guardian appointed. If a guardian is not appointed at the instance of the resident's parents, the law requires the state to perform "such services for the mentally deficient adult as he may require, and which otherwise would be rendered by a guardian of his person." At the time the Institute was conducting the study, the law was too new for thorough evaluation, but it seems clearly to be a step in the right direction.

Our empirical data indicate that once a retardate enters a public institution, his "status" so far as the institution is concerned is that of "resident," and it makes little or no difference whether he is a minor or adult, or whether he entered voluntarily or was committed. Differences in the treatment of residents with respect to their exercise of jural "rights" (property management, marriage, making purchases, communicating with persons outside the institution, and so on) are based upon institutional judgments about their capacity and on staff practices in a particular ward or cottage, rather than upon the requirements of "law," about which institutional personnel are, for the most part, either uninformed or misinformed (Allen et al., 1968b).

The chief sources of funds of institutionalized retardates are monthly benefit payments (Social Security, Veterans Administration, and so on), small sums provided by parents, earnings for work done in the institution or in the community while living at the institution, and occasionally fairly substantial sums coming to the retardate by inheritance or otherwise. The latter generally leads to a proceeding to appoint a guardian, but the other types of income are routinely received, held, and managed by the institution (with or without statutory authority); indeed, benefit payments are often made directly to the superintendent as "substitute payee." All institutions co-mingle such trust funds, and all apply such funds, at least in part, toward meeting the expenses of the retardate's care. Most allow the retardate to retain some portion of his money for his own use, but there is wide variation in the practices of the institutions we visited. The amounts assessed for cost of care ranged from a token $1 per month to "actual cost," which in one institution was as high as $215 per month.

State statutes are vague, but in most jurisdictions the parents of minor residents are first looked to for payment of the cost of their care (although formal collection procedures are rarely invoked). Perhaps here is an area for "bold new approaches." Why, for example, should not the state training school be considered in the same light as the public elementary school: an economic burden to be shared by all of the citizens of the community in the interest of all, rather than one to be borne only by those with children in need of such care and training? Indeed, why not provide a system of governmental payments to parents of retarded children capable of living at home, to enable them to provide the special care and training which might otherwise be available only through placement in a residential care facility?

It is generally agreed that the proportionately small number of residents now returned to the community by residential care institutions could be increased greatly if institutional and community resources were improved. There is some basis for optimism in a slight upward trend in such community placements and in a decreasing rate of return of those conditionally released in recent years. The primacy which should be accorded to habilitation of the resident in every institution is illustrated by the view expressed by a staff member in one institution when interviewed by our staff investigators:

> We aren't too concerned when one of our people on conditional release has to come back. We look on every day outside the institution as a step forward. If somebody has to come back for more training, that's all right. We'll try again and again until he can make it on his own.

Involuntary Sterilization: Is It Legally Defensible?

Today twenty-six of our states have eugenic sterilization laws, twenty-three of which are compulsory. The number of reported sterilizations per year has decreased steadily, from over 1,600 some twenty-five years ago to less than 500 today, a decrease in large part due to the widespread rejection of the view that mental illness and mental retardation are hereditary.

Our empirical studies have shown, however, that the problems associated with eugenic sterilization are not confined to states with compulsory laws. In states with a "voluntary" statute, "consent" is often more theoretical than real. For example, it may be made a condition of discharge from an institution that the patient "consent" to sterilization. And in one state our field investigators observed a "voluntary" sterilization proceeding for a six-year-old boy.

We found further that sterilization operations are conducted outside the institutions in states without sterilization laws. In one state, an institution official told our interviewers that he had performed fifty to sixty such sterilizations during the last two years. If true, his activities alone would give the state a sterilization rate higher than the reported rates of twenty states that have sterilization laws! Another institution physician in the same state told our investigators: "I, on occasion, have let my knife 'slip' in surgery and cut the tubes, but with most nurses present, I would not do it, as they have large mouths" (Ferster, 1966).

The Task Force on Law and the several state Mental Retardation Planning Committees have equivocated on the matter of involuntary sterilization. The Institute has been unable to find persuasive scientific proof either of the inheritability of the defects for which sterilization is now being imposed, or of the fact that a child -- even if of normal intelligence -- will be seriously handicapped by the fact of being reared by a retarded parent. With the increasing availability of improved supervision and protective services, and of birth control devices far less drastic and irrevocable than surgical procedures, it is the author's view that there is no sound basis for sanctioning the continuance of involuntary sterilization -- under whatever euphemism it may be applied.

The Problem of the Retarded Delinquent

Placement of the delinquent who is retarded is a problem in each of the states we studied. The following summary of a case followed by our field investigators illustrates the plight of the child no one seems to want:

> One day in late fall, the police of a large city found a child sleeping on a park bench. He replied to their questions incoherently and they brought him before the juvenile judge that same day. It was learned that he was fifteen years old and had run away from home, and had done so many times before, and that a year earlier he had been before the court on a delinquency charge and had been diagnosed as moderately retarded. At that time a recommendation had been made for foster home placement because of the inadequacy of his home environment...but there are no foster homes for retarded teen-aged "delinquents," so he was returned to his home.
>
> The boy was sent to a juvenile detention center to await the court's decision, and while there was retested. The Center's report to the court stated that his IQ was "estimated at 45 as he is below the (WISC) scale." It also stated that he had a speech impediment, "no conception of personal hygiene," and presented marked behavior problems. He was kept at the detention center pending a new hearing.
>
> At the second hearing a month later, the judge announced that he was going to place the child in a residential care institution for the retarded. But in that state commitment by the juvenile court requires consent of the training school (and the judge had been unable to obtain such consent in a dozen similar cases since his appointment a year and a half before). The institution to which the boy was sent confirmed the fact of his retardation, but averred that "no vacancy is contemplated...now or at any time in the near future," and recommended placement "elsewhere." A second institution was tried -- also unsuccessfully, although the judge found its officials "much more sympathetic."
>
> The boy was released by the court, and two weeks later was picked up by police wandering aimlessly in a bus station. When brought back to juvenile court it was found that he had been missing from home for ten days. Fearing for the boy's safety, the judge hit upon the idea of instituting a commitment proceeding in the probate court, since the statutes are silent as to whether or not approval of the institution is required in such cases. Finally, nearly two years after the first referral to the juvenile court, the boy was admitted under "protest" by a state training school.

The point of the story is not exploitation of a legal "loophole" to gain admission for a child to an institution for the retarded, nor is it to question the wisdom of a law which restricts judicial commitment by requiring institutional approval; rather, it is our failure to create appropriate facilities to meet the needs of the retarded child with associated problems of behavior. In two of the states in which we conducted research, we found significant numbers of retarded children in juvenile correctional facilities, for the most part lacking in resources to meet the special needs of their mentally retarded residents. And in two others, we found new intensive care facilities, offering at last some hope of reaching the institutional outcast -- the retarded "delinquent."

GUARDIANSHIP AND PROTECTIVE SERVICES

Guardianship and civil incompetency -- including determinations of capacity to contract or convey, to execute a will, to sue or be sued, to drive a car, to marry or have a marriage annuled, to have custody of children, to manage social security or Veterans Administration benefits, to vote, and so on -- are the subject of a book recently published by this author and colleagues, which contains a chapter with detailed recommendations for improvement in our present laws (Allen et al., 1968b); therefore these subjects will not be considered in depth here.

Some of the shortcomings of typical state statutes and proceedings are the following: (1) Again the terminology is imprecise, and, as has been pointed out earlier, because of inappropriate use of terms (for example, "incompetent" for one found in need of institutional care), a determination in one area may create the status of general "incompetency." (2) Guardianship proceedings are cumbersome and expensive. (3) Both the terminology employed and the procedures required create unnecessary stigma for the retarded person in need of help and unnecessary pain for parents seeking to insure that he will get it. (4) Institutionalization often creates at least a de facto if not a de jure incompetency. (5) Most courts do not have facilities for clinical evaluation, nor do they have sufficient staff to oversee the discharge of fiduciary responsibility by guardians or institutional personnel. (6) Often the alleged incompetent is not really represented by counsel, even when the procedure requires appointment of an attorney ad litem, and the determination is frequently made ex parte. (7) There is great uncertainty as to when a guardian of the person should be appointed and what his duties should be. (8) There is no established procedure for review of the competency of an institutionalized person upon his reaching his majority. (9) Guardians of the person are rarely appointed for those in residential care institutions. (10) Guardianship is an "all or nothing" situation, although in many cases partial or limited guardianship is all that is required. (11) Few states have established a system under which a state agency can assume some or all of the functions of a guardian when there is no one else who can fill this role. (12) In part because of lack of community resources and in part because of misconstructions of existing law and regulations, in some states it is necessary to go through a commitment proceeding to receive needed protective services.

Our field investigators interviewed the parents of more than fifty retarded children and adults in half a dozen states to determine what, if any, planning had been done for the future of the retardate. The interviewees were selected at random, but many of the names came from lists supplied by the National Association for Retarded Children. Hence, as a group they were not representative of all parents of retarded children but rather of those parents concerned enough about the welfare of their own and other retarded children to have become involved in N.A.R.C. activities. Most were middle-class families (with a fair sprinkling of professional persons); half of their retarded children were classified as "educable," and all but thirteen lived at home. Most of them had done, they said, "some thinking" about preparing for their child's future.

We were surprised by what we found. None of the adult retardates had either a guardian of the person or estate, although two had substitute payees for social security benefit purposes. Few of the parents of minor children had made thoughtful plans for the future of their children and most were ignorant about such important facets of planning as testamentary guardianship, the status of their children on reaching the age of twenty-one, and what can be accomplished through an inter vivos trust. Much of their planning was inappropriate (wills out of date or invalid, trust arrangements inadequate), and in several cases children had been in effect disinherited on the erroneous assumption that any estate given to the child would be taken to reimburse the state for the cost of its care.

But fault does not lie exclusively or even primarily with the parents. The inadequacy of community facilities and services, the largely unrelieved financial burden of providing for a retarded child, the fact that hospitalization and health insurance coverage may not include the retarded child, the paucity of comprehensive evaluation and counseling services, the ignorance of most lawyers, physicians, and other family advisors about the problems involved in planning for the retarded, and the stigma and expense of guardianship -- all seem to surround the parents with an impenetrable curtain of confusion and frustration, defeating every effort to plan effectively.

In several states there are imaginative new legal approaches: New Jersey now requires that all retardates receiving services from the state be examined at age twenty-one; parents or next of kin are encouraged to obtain a private guardian if the retardate needs such help, but if they wish it, the Division of Mental Retardation will perform the functions of a guardian of the person. Louisiana has a simple, inexpensive procedure whereby the parent's guardianship (tutorship) of a child may be continued past the child's reaching the age of majority if he is mentally retarded. In Connecticut new duties have been reposed in the Office of Mental Retardation, located within the Department of Health, whose records of children in need of services are now fully computerized. Minnesota has had for a number of years a system of state guardianship (but cf. Levy, 1965). And California, with its emphasis on community-based services, created in 1965 a number of regional diagnostic, counseling, and service centers. In 1968, guardianship services were added to the package, under legislation, similar to the earlier "personal surrogate" bill which failed of passage. Although rarely used, Washington's Co-Custody and Parental Successor laws are worthy of study. And major innovative efforts are under way in New York, Ohio, and other states.

The major concern of parents -- Will there be someone to "look out for" their retarded child when they are gone? -- may be to a great extent relieved if voluntary "retardate trust" plans (now in existence in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Michigan) prove successful. These plans provide limited estate management, but appropriately emphasize personal contact and protection.

Again, passing a law or adopting a "plan" alone will not solve the problem. There must also be: education about the laws and regulations which affect the retarded and their families -- for parents, for institutional personnel, for community workers, and for lawyers as well; sufficient funding to provide the differential services needed, preferably within the retardate's own community; and understanding and effective workers to administer the program.

In an earlier paper (Allen, 1968a), the author noted that "protective services" fail to protect:

1. when legal proceedings become routinized and pro forma, and decision-makers lose sight of both the nature of the services available and the needs of the people to be served;
2. when there is a lack of adequate staff and physical facilities;
3. when important decision-makers are ignorant of them or their appropriate use;
4. when they impose coercive sanctions unnecessarily, or for longer periods than necessary; or when more appropriate noncoercive measures are available;
5. when the legal provisions under which they may be rendered are phrased in terms, which, because of their ambiguity or inappropriateness, make it difficult to identify the categories of persons eligible to receive them;
6. when custodial care, because of ignorance, or becuase of its ease of application, becomes the treatment of choice over other protective services more appropriate to the needs of the retardate (in all too many of the jurisdictions we studied, institutionalization has become the "poor man's guardianship");
7. when they are rendered by a multiplicity of agencies with ambiguously defined, and often overlapping, jurisdiction; and, perhaps most important,
8. when they do not respect the dignity and worth of the individual.

THE RETARDED OFFENDER

Although there is a paucity of factual information about mental retardation and crime, there has been no shortage of opinions about it through the years. About a half-century ago, it was pretty widely believed that every intellectually impaired person was a likely delinquent, and that most criminal offenders were such because of impaired intellect. The polemicists have now come full circle, and it is today just as stoutly maintained by some members of the scientific, legal, and correctional communities that mental retardation bears no causal relationship to crime.[7] Indeed this view is so strongly held in some quarters that when staff members of our Institute have discussed the preliminary findings of our researches, the most strenuous objection has been voiced by persons ordinarily in the vanguard of liberal reform. As the author once noted (Allen, 1966):

> ...in our zeal to dispel the chimeras and rubrics that have existed so long, we may have fallen into another kind of error. There seems to be developing a sort of reaction formation in which it has become fashionable to deny that gross intellectual deficit plays any significant role in producing criminal behavior.

In 1963 a questionnaire survey was made of all correctional institutions in the country, with the exception of jails and workhouses where misdemeanants and minor offenders are confined. Responses were received from over 80 per cent of the institutions contacted, housing some 200,000 offenders, of which number the reporting institutions have IQ records on about half. The following were among the findings made based on analysis of these records (Brown and Courtless, 1967):

1. About 9.5% of prison inmates can be classified as mentally retarded, using IQ 70 as the cut-off point (it is estimated that about 3% of the general population is mentally retarded).
2. Although more than 70% of the reporting Institutions routinely test the intelligence of inmates on admission, a number of different tests are used, and testing procedures vary widely; and several reporting institutions make no effort to test the intelligence of their inmates.
3. Nearly 1500 (1.6%) of the inmates had reported IQ scores below 55, ranging down to a low of 17.
4. There is a general lack of mental health manpower resources within the institutions and consequently virtually no special programs for retarded inmates; 160 institutions with nearly 150,000 inmates, are served by 14 full-time psychiatrists and 82 full time psychologists; and more than half of the institutions reporting offer no program of any kind for their retarded inmates -- not even a single special education class.

In the criminal-law-correctional phase of the Institute's study of the mentally retarded and the law, six adult correctional institutions in six different states, each of which had reported housing inmates with IQ's below 70, were selected, taking into account the character of the institution, the availability of records, and geographic location. To each of the institutions was sent a field worker, who compiled from prison records a list of all inmates identified by the institutions as retarded, selected a random sample from this list for retesting, and determined the type and manner of institutional testing and the nature of any educational or other rehabilitative programs provided by the institution for its allegedly retardate population. He also collected detailed sociopsychological, socioeconomic, and criminological data on each of the inmates in the sample.

The sample was then retested by a second member of the team, a clinical psychologist, using the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, Draw-a-Person, and Thematic Apperception tests. The third member of the team, a lawyer, then analyzed the legal data for each case in the sample, including examinations of trial transcripts, and interviews with judges, prosecutors and defense counsel, probation officers, and police personnel involved in each case. In this later facet of the study, we sought answers to such questions as the following: At what point, if at all, was an attorney appointed to represent the accused? Was a confession or other statement to the police offered in evidence, and was objection taken to it? Was the issue of competency to stand trial raised? Was there a referral for an examination or observation? Was the defense of lack of criminal responsibility "insanity" asserted? Was there a presentence investigation? What were the dispositional alternatives available to the court? The primary focus of inquiry was to determine at what point, if at all, significant decision-makers became aware of the fact of the defendant's mental retardation; and, if it was not discovered in the course of the criminal trial, why this was so; and if it was discovered, what effect, if any, it had.

Correctional institutions use a number of different tests of intelligence; some are given to large groups of inmates as part of the admissions procedure, sometimes using other inmates to administer and score them. Surprisingly, despite this fact, we found institutional testing to be a fairly reliable indicator of mental retardation. The mean IQ of the sample of fifty-one inmates whom we retested was 66.0, compared with a mean IQ on institutional testing of 62.4. Further, we found 74 per cent of the sample to fall within the retarded range, with an additional 8.7 per cent testing in the borderline range (IQ between 70 and 74). Of course, disparities were also discovered. In one state the "Otis Quick Scoring Test" is used. On that test the mean IQ of the supposedly retarded inmates was 61.8; our retesting of a sample of that group showed a mean IQ of 77.8, with only one inmate in the sample scoring below IQ 70.

Projecting the percentage of retarded inmates identified by the institutions responding to our initial survey to the total prison population, there are in American prisons today nearly 20,000 adult offenders who are substantially intellectually impaired, some 3,300 of whom are classifiable as moderately to profoundly retarded. But the problems which these offenders present transcend their numbers, and they are rejected at every point where help might be given: by those concerned with treatment for the mentally retarded because they are "criminal" and by corrections because to meet their special needs would exhaust the limited resources of most penal institutions.

The Task Force on Law of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation declared, as though it were axiomatic, that "There is no reason to believe that the small percentage of the mentally retarded who ran afoul of the criminal law are prone to commit crimes of violence." Our findings suggest that this rubric -- so long accepted in refutation of the once widely held view that all retardates are potential killers -- could bear reexamination.

United States Bureau of Prisons statistics indicate that a little over one-fourth of all inmates of adult penal institutions were sent there for having committed assaultive crimes against other people (as opposed to property and other types of offenses), and that about 5 per cent were convicted of some degree of criminal homicide. The largest single offense category is burglary-breaking and entering, which includes 30 per cent of all inmates.

Of the inmates reported by the institutions responding to the Brown-Courtless Questionnaire as having IQ's less than 70, a sample of 1,000 was selected with measured IQ's below 55. The proportion of this group who had been committed on conviction of burglary-breaking and entering corresponded closely to the figure cited by the Bureau of Prisons for the total prison population (28 per cent). However, among this grossly retarded group, 57 per cent had been convicted of crimes against the person, and the percentage convicted of homicide was three times as high as that of the total prison population (15.4 per cent). And among the fifty prisoners in the six states selected for further empirical research, 72 per cent of the sample selected for retesting who were found to be retarded had been incarcerated for crimes against the person and 36 per cent for some degree of homicide. Indeed, the most frequent crime committed by inmates identified on retesting as retarded was first-degree murder, which accounted for nearly 21 per cent of the total.

Perhaps our sample of half a hundred inmates is too small for this apparent predominance of violent crimes to have much significance. Perhaps also the proportion of retarded prisoners who have committed such crimes is inflated by the fact that the retardate is more easily apprehended, more prone to confess, more likely to be convicted, and will probably be incarcerated longer than the nonretarded offender. Also, one might assume that some of the retardates who commit non-assaultive crimes are diverted from the criminal trial process and committed to institutions for the mentally retarded (although we found no evidence that this occurs in any of the courts and other agencies in which our researches were conducted). And finally, it may be more accurate to state that both mental retardation and crime are largely products of certain socioeconomic and cultural factors (President's Committee, 1968), than to postulate a causal relationship between the two. But however the results of our inquiries may be qualified in light of these factors, one fact rather clearly emerges -- that the special problem of the mentally retarded offender warrants much greater attention than it has ever been given in the past.

There are several points in the criminal trial process at which the defendant's retardation might be expected to be revealed: in determining his competency to stand trial; in considering the admissibility of his confession; in resolving the issue of his criminal responsibility (insanity); or in the course of a referral for mental examination. In fact, however, it is not discovered, or if it is, it plays no significant part in the outcome of the case. An important facet of the problem, of course, is that none of these legal procedures operates automatically; rather, the issue must be affirmatively raised. And the system works in such a way as virtually to insure that the issue will not be raised.[8] Another is the lack of opportunity presented by the typical criminal trial for discovery of gross impairment. Most of the prisoners in our sample were poor, most Negro, and most had appointed counsel who spent little time with them. The trial was often little more than a formality; more than 95 per cent of the defendants either confessed or pled guilty, and the entire proceedings -- from arrest to incarceration in prison -- were often completed in a matter of weeks.

Finally, the following excerpts from our interview data suggest still another dimension of the problem:

From a prosecuting attorney, discussing a subject retested at IQ 57:

> ...we all thought he was dumb, but he was a mean ______, and we all were a little afraid of him.

From a public defender, several of whose clients were identified as retarded in prison:

> ...I don't recall that any of my clients were retarded.

From a judge, said of a retarded defendant convicted of first degree murder:

> ...He did appear somewhat slow, but most of these migrant farm workers are retarded to a certain extent anyway.

And from a psychiatrist, asked to render a report in the only case in our sample in which the accused pled "insanity":

> ...In my opinion he could be certified as a mental defective and committed to an appropriate institution. However, in my opinion he is sane and responsible in law for his actions both at the time of the alleged crime and since.

Several years ago the author suggested experimental establishment of an exceptional offenders court, which suggestion was seconded by Brown and Courtless in their report to the President's Crime Commission (Allen, 1966):

> The laws of most states have established special procedures outside the normal processes of the criminal law for defined categories of offenders: juveniles, youthful offenders, sex offenders and defective delinquents, for example. Perhaps the closest conceptual model to the exceptional offenders court, among extant judicial institutions, is the juvenile court, with which there are at least two points of similarity: first, both are concerned with persons who are inadequately equipped to meet certain responsibilities of adulthood -- in the case of the juvenile, because of his tender years, and in the case of the mentally retarded, because of his intellectual deficit; and second, like the juvenile court, the exceptional offenders court would have as a primary objective the welfare of retarded persons coming under its wardship, rather than imposing punishment for criminal offenses.

Two determinations would be required for such a court to assume jurisdiction, and in each the due process requirements of notice, confrontation, representation, a fair hearing with full right of appeal, and so on, should be observed: first as to the existence of gross intellectual deficit (under a flexible definition, not bound to arbitrary IQ levels, for example, "substantially impaired in his intellectual capacity to cope with the demands and responsibilities of normal adult life, or to conform his behavior to the requirements of law"); and second as to commission of an act, which if committed by a person of normal intelligence would constitute a felony or serious misdemeanor (Allen, 1966):

> The court should have broad supervisory powers over all persons properly coming under its jurisdiction, inclu authority to commit exceptional offenders to appropriate specialized institutions for indeterminate periods. Institutionalization should, however, be based upon a finding of dangerousness to self or others, and such orders should be subject to periodic review. Where the offender is capable of living in society under supervision, probation should be available, making full use of group therapy, special education, and other techniques.
>
> The court should also have authority to confer powers of guardianship (of the person, of the estate, or both) on the probation officer, where the exercise of such powers is deemed necessary or desirable. Where a guardian had previously been appointed for the exceptional offender by another court, the exceptional offenders court should have authority to intervene in such proceedings, either to make the appointed guardian subject to its supervision, or to terminate the prior order of guardianship.
>
> Following the analogy to juvenile court proceedings, it would perhaps be desirable to confer jurisdiction upon the court in cases of dependency and neglect as well -- thus making it a court for exceptional adults rather than an exceptional offenders court. Indeed, such a court could be given exclusive authority over the institutionalization and guardianship of the mentally retarded.

The concept of an exceptional offenders court embraces more than merely adding one more court to the judicial system (indeed it need not require even that; such a court might well be a division of an already existing juvenile or family court). It would not, of itself, supply the differential resources necessary for an effective treatment program, but it would be a start; and a step toward implementation of the recommendation of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (the "Crime Commission") for "early identification and diversion to other community resources of those offenders in need of treatment, for whom full criminal disposition does not appear required" (Brown and Courtless, 1967).

Only a small minority of the mentally retarded get into trouble with the law, but for those who do, the criminal trial process is not equipped to identify them and the correctional system cannot provide rehabilitative care appropriate to their special needs. Our researches have shown that such offenders commit a preponderance of assaultive crimes and have a much poorer record of recidivism than intellectually normal offenders (Allen, 1966):

> Historically, society has pursued three alternative courses with the mentally retarded offender: we have ignored his limitations and special needs; or we have sought to tailor traditional criminal law processes to fit them; or we have grouped him with psychopaths, sociopaths, and sex deviates in a kind of conventicle of the outcast and hopeless. What is suggested here is a "fourth way," a way not of rejection and despair

but of acceptance and hope (Allen, 1966).

CONCLUSION: LEGAL RIGHTS OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED

In 1967, the International League of Societies for the Mentally Handicapped convened in Stockholm a symposium of experts from all over the world to consider legislative reform in behalf of the retarded. In the document produced by that distinguished body (Sterner, 1967), the following is the first "general principle":

> The mentally retarded person has the same rights as other citizens of the same country, same age, family status, working status, etc., unless a specific determination has been made, by appropriate procedures, that his exercise of some or all of such rights will place his own interests or those of others in undue jeopardy.

Society has for a very long time regarded the mentally retarded as objects of charity instead of as citizens with full rights of citizenship until and unless restricted for good reason and under fair and appropriate procedures.

Among the barriers along the way "from charity to rights" are a myriad of laws, administrative regulations, and practices, many of which were adopted with the most humanitarian of motives but whose effect is to denigrate the citizenship -- indeed the humanity -- of the retarded: "charitably" to deprive them of the very thing which is most precious to any human being and most essential to his fulfillment. The principle announced in Stockholm is the legal counterpart -- and a vital one -- of the "normalization principle" which has guided formulation of policies for the handicapped in the Scandinavian countries (Nirje, 1967). The National Association for Retarded Children has called for its full recognition in this country (National Association for Retarded Children, 1968) -- it is long overdue.

This has been an era of great civil libertarian decisions by our courts. The Supreme Court of the United States, in Gideon v. Wainwright (372 U.S. 335, 1963), affirmed the right of every criminal defendant to the effective assistance of counsel (and a few lower courts have begun to apply the same requirement to civil commitment cases); in Miranda v. State of Arizona (384 U.S. 486, 1966) it further amplified the right of every citizen to protection of his constitutional right not to be compelled to testify against himself; in Robinson v. California (370 U.S. 660, 1962) it declared the imposition of criminal sanctions for the "offense" of narcotics addiction to be "cruel and unusual punishment" proscribed by the Constitution; and in Kent v. U.S. (383 ULSL 541, 1966) and Matter of Gault (387 U.S. 1, 1967) it applied the due process guaranties of the Constitution to juvenile proceedings, despite the contention that since juvenile courts act "for the welfare of the child" and proceedings before them are denominated "civil" rather than criminal, these fundamental rights are inapplicable. And the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia -- often in the forefront of liberal reform -- has recently declared (Rouse v. Cameron, 373 F. 2d 451, 1966) that one who is hospitalized on the basis of a finding of his need for mental health care has a constitutional right to treatment, and that "Continuing failure to provide suitable and adequate treatment cannot be justified by lack of staff or facilities." The court observed:

> Regardless of the statutory authority, involuntary confinement without treatment is "shocking." Indeed, there may be greater need for the protection of the right to treatment for persons committed without the safeguards of civil commitment procedures.

The concept would seem directly pertinent to an evaluation of the kind of warehousing of children that characterizes many of our residential care institutions -- what was termed in another chapter in this book the process of "de-habilitation" (see Dybwad, Chap. 25).

The Board of Directors of N.A.R.C. listed the following among the significant rights which must be accorded to the retardate (National Association for Retarded Children, 1968):

> The right to choose a place to live, to acquire and dispose of property, to marry, and have children, to be given a fair trial for any alleged offense, the right to engage in leisure time activities and to receive such special training, rehabilitation, guidance, counseling, education, and special education, as may strengthen his ability to exercise these rights with a minimum of abridgement.

To the foregoing one might add: the right to privacy, to freedom of communication, to the assistance of an attorney in any legal proceeding affecting his liberty or substantial rights, to freedom from unnecessary restraint, to job training and placement, to respect for his bodily integrity (the right not to be sterilized, or experimented upon or -- for "administrative convenience" -- to be kept naked, or tied to a crib, or unnecessarily sedated), and to enjoy all of these rights regardless of his family's financial condition, and, insofar as possible, in his own home and community.

But the "legal rights of the mentally retarded" are in the final analysis a single legal right: the right to equal justice under law -- that noble concept first enunciated in Magna Carta, embodied in the Constitution of the United States from its inception, and extended to every state of the Union a century ago by the Fourteenth Amendment to that great document.

If the mentally retarded citizen is to receive equal justice, he must be accorded the following component rights: (1) all the rights of citizenship that he is capable of exercising; (2) the right to such protection, assistance, and restriction in exercising such rights as is necessary and appropriate in light of his limitations; (3) the right to humane and appropriate care and treatment -- preferably in his own home and community, but if necessary in a residential care institution -- with the objective of enabling him to live as fully, as freely, and as self-sufficiently as possible; and (4) fundamental fairness -- due process of law -- in the provision and safeguarding of each of the foregoing rights.

The Old Testament enjoins us to "...do justice to the afflicted"

(Psalms 82:3). The quest for justice is the most demanding task of man; insuring equal justice for the unequal can become its noblest expression.

NOTES

[1] The Infant's Lawyer, 1712. The Old Testament puts it even more succinctly: "...do justice to the afflicted" (Psalms 82:3).

[2] Portions of this chapter were first presented at the First Congress of the International Association of the Scientific Study of Mental Deficiency at Montpelier, France, Sept. 18, 1967; and at the Fourth Congress of the International League of Societies for the Mentally Handicapped at Jerusalem, Israel, Oct. 21, 1968. The author's Montpellier paper appeared in the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry (July, 1968), and his Jerusalem paper is scheduled for publication in Mental Retardation. Portions of the chapter dealing with the retarded offender first appeared in Mental Retardation and in Federal Probation.

The empirical studies conducted by the Institute of Law, Psychiatry and Criminology referred to in this chapter are: The Mental Competency Study and the Mentally Retarded and the Law, each of which was a three-year research project supported by grants from the National Institute of Mental Health. The final project report in the first study noted has been published as Allen, R., Ferster, E., and Weihofen, H., Mental Impairment and Legal Incompetency, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968. Publications resulting from the second study are listed in the References section to this chapter.

[3] An excellent illustration can be found in the description of the determination of indefinite hospitalization and incompetency in Texas, described in Allen and others (1968a, p. 50, et. seq.).

[4] For example, in this country "mental retardation" is the preferred generic term and "mental deficiency" is regarded as an acceptable synonym; but in England, "mental deficiency" is the preferred generic term and "mental retardation" is used to connote functional impairment to a level below presumed capacity (W.H.O., 1954). And in a recently enacted New Jersey law the term "mental deficiency" is used to indicate a greater degree of impairment than the term "mental retardation," and its application results in a different legal status. (See Allen, The dynamics of interpersonal communication and the law, in Allen et al., 1968b).

[5] For example, Kanner cites ancient and distinguished authority for each of the following assertions as to the etymology of the term "cretin": that it is a corruption of Chretien or Christian ("because due to their simplicity of mind, people so afflicted are incapable of sinning"); that it comes from the root cretira, or "creature"; from creta, or "chalk" because of the "pale, chalk-like color of the skin" (although, interestingly, in another part of Europe they are referred to as marrons because of their dark, chestnut-colored complexion); and that it is a derivation of cretine, meaning alluvium ("Is not cretinism endemic in such mountain gorges as are very swampy and exposed to damp air?").

[6] That distinction may be of critical importance; for example, some statutes refer to commitment "until recovery" when there is a finding in

a criminal case of incompetency to stand trial. For the retardate, for whom "recovery" in the conventional sense of the term is not possible, the result of a literal construction of the statute may well be commitment for life.

[7] These views are cited and commented upon in Brown and Courtless (1967; reprinted in Allen et al., 1968b).

[8] An analysis of why this is so may be found in Allen (1968b).

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REASONS FOR MAINSTREAMING

by
Jack W. Birch

Simply stated, mainstreaming is providing high-quality special education to exceptional children while they remain in regular grades for as much of the day as possible. The pressures toward mainstraming, currently, spring from a complex group of motives of which at least 11 can be identified.

1. The capability to deliver special education anywhere has improved.

Much of the instructional apparatus of special educators has been made more mobile and less complex during the past 25 years. Standardized, mass produced, and packaged instructional materials are now available and they make for easier access and application. The number of self-instructional devices especially has grown in variety and applicability to children from preschool through high school. In addition, a number of instructional approaches have been organized into systems which teachers can study and learn to use on their own or through inservice sessions; attending specialized courses on college campuses is not required. As a result, special education program directors have begun to apply the new approaches and materials to exceptional children in regular class settings in recent years with encouraging results.

2. Parental concerns are being expressed more directly and forcefully.

Many parents never wanted their children to be placed in special classes and schools. They acceded to such placements only because they wanted their children to receive appropriate education and they knew of no possible alternatives. But their desire for the social benefits of educating all chidren together persisted. As parents learned that educators now know how to bring high-quality special education to large numbers of exceptional children in regular classes, their demand that the knowledge be applied has spread like wildfire.

3. The rejection of the labeling of children is growing.

The belief has grown that if a child is called retarded, disturbed, delinquent, slow, or handicapped, the label will influence the way in which he is treated by people around him and the way he perceives himself. For a long time, labels with negative implications have been associated with special education. The grouping of labeled children in schools or classes that are identified as "special" seems to mark the child as being

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different in an undesirable way. Thus, it is argued, making special education an integral part of classes for all children minimizes the need for labeling and cancels many of its undesirable effects on children.

4. *Court actions have accelerated changes in special education procedures.*

Some parents, notably those of mentally retarded children, found that severely and profoundly retarded children were being kept out of school entirely on the basis of state regulations which were applied with the force of law. The same restrictions were applied to many retarded children in the more educable range of learning ability also. Consequently, the parents brought their complaint into court.** The resulting consent agreement affirmed the right to full and free education for all children regardless of handicap. Moreover, the court followed the recommendations of special education leaders who testified that the most desirable setting for special education is the regular classroom, if it can be arranged. Thus an added stimulus for mainstreaming appeared from a most prestigious source--expert testimony accepted by the courts.

5. *The fairness and accuracy of psychological testing has been questioned.*

The validity of group and individual tests of intelligence and achievement has been challenged by many voices and particularly by the spokespersons for minority groups. Court actions and civil rights disputes have heightened the suspicion that such tests are unfair to children reared in cultural settings significantly different from those of the middle- and upper-class members of the dominant culture. Additional key reasons cited for the tests' lack of validity are the failure to include minority children in the test standardization groups and the application of the tests to minority children by majority persons. Since children have been placed in special education classes and special schools as a result of low test scores, the appropriateness of the placements has been brought into question.

6. *Too many children were classified psychometrically as mentally retarded.*

Even before questions were raised in the courts about the accuracy of group and individual tests of learning capacity and achievement, a number of large-city school officials recognized that in their systems the number of children being classified as mentally retarded was three to four times greater, proportionately, than the national estimates. Whatever the reason for the discrepancy, it was clearly not feasible for such a large segment of a city's school population to be given negatively loaded labels

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**In the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children, Nancy Beth Bowman, et. al. Plaintiff v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, David H. Kurtzman, et al. Defendants. Civil Action No. 71-42. Amended Consent Agreement 14 February 1972.

and to be separated from their peers. One alternative was to make adaptations in the regular curriculum, adaptations that would build on the pupils' strengths and correct the deficiencies that led to low scores on the standardized tests of intelligence and achievement. This alternative became the underlying premise of the compensatory education movement in many urban and rural centers of economic depression. It was also a straw in the wind blowing toward what is now called mainstreaming.

7. Civil rights actions against segregation uncovered questionable special education placement practices.

Some school districts came under fire for allegedly violating children's civil rights by placing them in special classes which were operated as segregated school facilities. Segregation could be charged, for instance, if special education classes in a school contained significantly greater proportions of American-Oriental, Black, Mexican-American, or Indian children than the rest of the school population. Faced with the necessity of readjusting special education classes to balance minority enrollments, some districts resolved the problem by moving exceptional children into regular classes on the basis of parental requests. Not surprisingly, regular class teachers appealed to principals and supervisors for help and hence the special education teachers who had been freed by class-size reductions were assigned to serve as consultants to the beleaguered teachers. In many cases, former special class children not only performed satisfactorily in the regular grades but a few blossomed academically. Taking courage from the products of adversity, some school districts deliberately chose to move toward the greater inclusion of exceptional children in regular grades for some or all of their education.

8. Non-handicapped children are deprived if they are not allowed to associate with handicapped children.

Certain educators have argued that children without handicaps are deprived of important experiences if they are separated from their handicapped agemates in school. The same point has been made by some parents of both handicapped and non-handicapped children. Understanding, helpfulness, satisfaction of curiosity, overcoming of handicaps, acceptance of differences--these are a few of the concepts and feelings which can be developed among normal children through constructively managed interactions in school with the exceptional children who are their classmates. The success that ensued when crippled and blind pupils were included in regular schools, largely on the basis of this motive, encouraged attempts to mainstream other handicapped students.

9. The effectiveness of conventional special education was questioned.

The actual educational effectiveness of separate special schools and classes was equivocal. Comparative research rarely showed clear-cut academic or social advantages for handicapped children in special classes as opposed to other handicapped children who remained in regular classes and received no special help. Ambiguities are acknowledged in the results because of the way such comparative investigations have been conducted.

Nevertheless, many educators interpret the studies as strongly suggesting that substantial numbers of handicapped boys and girls have achieved as well in regular classes as they might have in self-contained special education classes.

10. Financial considerations foster mainstreaming.

In recent years, some states have made it equally or more feasible economically for local school districts to mingle exceptional children and others while still providing the special education to the children who need it. This approach reverses past policy in which school districts were rewarded for establishing separate special classes and schools. Nationally, costs have increased noticeably for building construction and maintenance, instructional equipment, materials, transportation, and auxiliary services such as cafeterias. Any move like mainstreaming that offers the possibility of the multiple use of school facilities is welcomed by budget-minded officials because of the reduction in unit use costs and in the capital costs of duplicate facilities. The possibility of savings is especially appreciated because the actual dollar value of separate, conventional, special education has been difficult to demonstrate conclusively.

11. American philosophical foundations encourage diversity in the same educational setting.

Mainstreaming implements our philosophy of education. It is expected that the educational opportunities provided for American children and youth will

> ...allow for the meaningful inclusion and appreciation of ethnic, racial, sexual, physical and ability variations without judgments about which course or method of study is more desireable. Individual differences are not to be viewed as deviations from the norm but as the basis on which the content and methods of a school's curriculum are to be built (Christoplos, 1973, p. 569).*

Although no one of the 11 listed elements is probably solely responsible for change in any one school system, taken together in various combinations and weights they have motivated a discernable and growing trend toward the integration of special education and regular classes.

The principle of educating handicapped pupils in local schools along with their brothers and sisters and the rest of the neighborhood youngsters is neither new nor revolutionary. Nor is the idea of individualizing teaching for all pupils. Until recently, however, both mainstreaming and individualizing were considered to be concepts which were desirable but not readily attainable for very many exceptional children. As this report indicates, the gap between the wish and the fact has begun to shrink. A number of school systems are proving that special education of excellent quality can be arranged for exceptional children in their neighborhood schools in regular class groupings.

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* Christoplos, F., "Keeping Exceptional Children in Regular Classes," Exceptional Children, April 1973, 569-572.

THE TERMINOLOGY OF MAINSTREAMING

by
Jack W. Birch

New expressions have entered the technical vocabulary of educators as part of the trend to educate exceptional children with all others. Key terms in the new language are increasingly used. So rapid has been the creation of the vocabulary that the terms defined here are not included in the most recent official U.S. Office of Education terminology list (Putnam & Chismore, 1970). *

DESCRIPTIVE DEFINITION OF MAINSTREAMING

It is difficult to consider mainstreaming unless there is agreement on what it means. The majority of state directors of special education in the United States agree upon the following statement. The elements of the definition are numbered for convenient reference.

1. Mainstreaming refers to assigning handicapped pupils to regular classes and providing special education for them.
2. In mainstreaming, regular classroom teachers broaden and adapt instructional procedures and content so all children are incorporated into regular programs at levels manageable for each child and teacher.
3. Mainstreaming may be done at any level, preschool through secondary school.
4. In mainstreaming, the handicapped pupil reports to the regular classroom teacher.
5. In conventionally organized schools or in open space schools the handicapped pupils being mainstreamed spend half or more of the day in regular classes.
6. In conventionally organized schools the special education teacher has a headquarters room to which pupils can come for periods of time from the mainstream rooms to which they are assigned.
7. In open space schools the special education teacher may be a member of the team serving in the open space setting or may have a separate room as headquarters.
8. Mainstreamed handicapped pupils leave the main group only for essential small group or individual instruction, educational assessment, and to pick up or deliver assignments prepared by the special education teacher.
9. The regular class teachers and the special education teachers agree upon individual schedules and assignments as needed for children being mainstreamed.

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*Putnam, J.F., and W.D. Chismore. Standard Terminology for Curriculum and Instruction in Local and State School Systems. National Center for Educational Statistics, State Education and Report Series I, Handbook VI, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970.

10. Regular class teachers are responsible for grades and report cards for the mainstreamed handicapped pupils, but they may consult with special education teachers on the grading.

11. Special education teachers help regular class teachers also by providing educational assessments and instructional consultation for regular class pupils who may not be eligible for special education in the usual sense.

12. Mainstreaming implies the following operating principle: Handicapped pupils usually begin their education in regular kindergarten or first grade groups with special education support, and they are removed to special classes or special schools only when the necessity to do so is shown and only for the periods required to prepare the pupils for return to regular classes.

13. Criteria for selecting handicapped pupils for mainstreaming are in terms of matching pupils' educational needs and the capability of the mainstream program to meet those needs, rather than in terms of the severity of the pupil's physical, mental, emotional, or other handicap.

14. Mainstreaming has a place in the spectrum of plans for organizing instruction, space, and facilities to accommodate the educational needs of handicapped pupils.

RELATED TERMS

Other new expressions entering the technical language of education concomitant with the mainstreaming movement are listed alphabetically with their present definitions.

Adaptive education: Synonym for special education, used especially to convey the idea of special education through mainstreaming.

Adaptive education teacher: Substitute term for special education teacher.

Admission review and dismissal (ARD) committee: A local school-centered committee that monitors all aspects of placement and continuation of children in local school special education programs (see Chapter IV).

All-out pupils: Special education pupils who are scheduled all day, every day to regular classes, with the special education teacher available for occasional conferences as needed, the latter determined by the pupils themselves or by their regular class teachers.

Alternative programming: Synonym for mainstreaming.

Clinical center: Synonym for resource room or center.

Consultation room: Synonym for resource room.

Cross-scheduling: Individual pupil schedules made in terms of a special education pupil's academic weaknesses and strengths; more common in secondary schools.

Decentralization: Has two meanings:

(1) reducing the number of special education school or class clusters requiring transportation in favor of providing special education in the child's neighborhood school;

(2) placing authority and responsibility, along with the budget, for special education directly in the hands of building principals with the requirement that they arrange appropriate special education in the local building for the children who need it in the attendance area.

Floating room: Synonym for resource room.

Functional classification: Descriptions of children needing special education in terms of specific strengths and weaknesses in educational achievement and social and personal behavior (as opposed to social categories such as "delinquent," or psychometric classifications such as "low IQ").

Headquarters room: Synonym for resource room.

Helping teacher: Substitute term for special education teacher.

Identified special education pupils: Pupils who are served by special education teachers, classified by state education agency criteria, recorded, and reported to the state for statistical and funding purposes; they are differentiated from other pupils with similar educational problems who are also served by special education teachers in the same setting but are not so classified.

Inclusion: Synonym for mainstreaming.

Integration: See mainstreaming.

Integrative process: Conveys the meaning of progressive inclusion and mainstreaming (see those definitions).

Learning center: Synonym for resource room or center.

Modified plan: Synonym for mainstreaming.

Plan A: The inclusion policy of the comprehensive special education plan of the Texas State Education Agency (see Chapter IV); becoming a descriptive term in Texas (i.e., "This is a Plan A school; these are Plan A teachers").

Progressive inclusion: Refers to scheduling children in need of special education into regular classes whenever a regular class teacher can supply instruction equivalent to or better than that in a special class, and doing so at an increasing degree as regular classes become more capable of providing special education of high quality or the pupils become more capable of profitable participation in regular classes.

Resource center: Section of an open space school plan serving the same function as a resource room (see resource room).

Resource room: A schoolroom used by a special education teacher to provide individual and small group instruction, assessment, and guidance to pupils who come for short periods of time from regular classes for special education. Synonyms are consultation room, floating room, headquarters room, learning center, and clinical center.

Resource room plan: See resource room and mainstreaming.

Resource teacher: Substitute term for special education teacher.

Self-contained program: Special education student is scheduled the entire school day to groups being instructed by special education teachers, though not necessarily in self-contained special education classes.

Self-contained special education class: A class conducted by a certified special education teacher wherein handicapped children exclusively report and spend the majority of the school day.

Stair-stepping: Moving self-contained special education students into the mainstream a little at a time, beginning with the students and the regular class and special education teachers with whom success appears most probable.

"TELL HIM..."

by
Gerda Corvin

This is an article about counseling. Whenever a trainee starts in the Shop, a counselor is assigned to him and to his family and the main job of the counselor is to use certain skills and methods to help the trainee and his family to make the best possible use of the Shop so that the trainee can become as good a worker as possible, perhaps good enough to work "on the outside," and to become as happy and as stable and as capable a person as possible, and to help him get along as well as possible at home. Some trainees and a few parents have weekly or even semiweekly sessions with the counselor for weeks, months and even years. Sometimes the sessions continue after the trainee leaves the Shop. Most trainees have meetings with the counselor on an as-needed basis. This is true of some parents. All Training Center trainees and their parents see the counselor at least every second or third month during the review of the trainee's evaluation and program. During most sessions what mainly happens is an exchange between the counselor and the other person -- an exchange of talk and an exchange of feeling and some of the feeling is expressed not in talk but in a look, the expression on one's face, the way one holds one's hands, how one sits. With some trainees talk may be accompanied by doing things, such as painting, or shopping for an article of clothing in a nearby store, or traveling on the subway or walking on the street, or figuring out a budget, or doing arithmetic or writing or reading together. When these exchanges take place on a regularly scheduled basis, we call it intensive counseling if the appointments occur at least once a week. When these exchanges occur among a counselor and several people during a session, we call it group counseling.

The counselors who do this work are specially trained people who receive graduate level training in social work, rehabilitation counseling or psychology. When they are employed at our Shop, their training continues. For their first two years they must have intensive conferences with a counselor supervisor at least once a week and usually more often. They are evaluated frankly. Throughout their stay with us they must attend learning seminars every Friday afternoon. Thus their training never ends.

Time and again exasperated parents, overwhelmed by frustration over their trainee's persistent, inappropriate behavior will turn to the counselor with the plea, "You tell him; maybe he'll listen to an outsider." The tone is one of helpless anger or utter desperation; often there are tears or clenched fists. There is sometimes the implication that the trainee will be withdrawn from our program and institutionalized if he refuses to listen. The counselor can sympathize with the parent's exasperation -- there are limits to tolerance and it is not easy to put up with immature, irrational, self-indulgent, possibly destructive behavior day after day, for some twenty years or more. Parents have stated

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repeatedly that they are getting more and more irritable and, therefore, less able to cope with unacceptable behavior as they and their retarded children grow older. Some parents, in the interest of self-preservation, adopt attitudes of weary resignation; they attempt to detach themselves from their child, to ignore the intolerable. At the opposite end, there are those parents who are fiercely determined to accomplish basic (and often unrealistic) changes in their trainee to have him fulfill whatever expectation they may have of him. Among these parents are the ones who keep on saying that they know the trainee could change "if he just wanted to." Therefore, they figure, "telling him" might be helpful; it could be the way to achieve the miracle that they have been waiting for all these long years.

Unfortunately, there are no miracles.

Retardation cannot be undone. While damaged brain cells do not prevent change, they make it more difficult and put a ceiling on how much can be accomplished. Exactly where the ceiling rests, of course, is not known, and it is in this ignorance that lie hope and frustration, an incentive for striving and the lure of unrealistic ambition. The poor judgment that goes hand in hand with mental retardation is hard to undo but it can be modified.

The thing that can be done, however, is to help the retarded person function at his highest potential -- something that he and his family (and staff at times, too) often underestimate. Recognizing that there are serious limitations, the aforementioned ceiling, this is the goal of anyone who works with the retarded.

NOT WHAT YOU SHOULD BE -- BUT WHO ARE YOU?

It has been demonstrated abundantly that in most cases "telling him" is not enough to reach that goal. Most of our trainees come to us with lifelong histories of having been told what to do and what not to do, endlessly, by their families, teachers and other interested persons. And the telling has not always been harsh or without sensitivity or without feeling although some of it has been all these things and worse. It is not the counselor's job to perpetuate these histories. It is the counselor's job to help trainees change certain attitudes and behavior patterns that interfere with interpersonal relationships including those that get in the way of work.

Often the counselor can cause such changes to come about if he can uncover the source of the trouble, if he can understand the purpose of the troublesome symptom and then share this understanding with the trainee. The way to do this is not by "telling him" or by "talking to him" which only too often takes the form of talking at him -- but by "talking with him." Talking with a person is more than just carrying on a conversation. It means responding to the feelings that words often cover up. It means that consistent efforts are made to understand such feelings and, when it is appropriate, to point them out. This is not anything the counselor can do on his own. While his training and experience and intuition may enable him to take an educated guess at feelings, he cannot do the job properly unless the other person, the trainee, in this case, is willing to cooperate, to share material that may be embarrassing and painful, including details which may seem insignificant.

A trainee may have heard a thousand times that he should earn a living but he sabotages job referrals. He says the train was delayed or he could not find the office or the neighborhood was tough. But sometimes, after many weeks and months of counseling sessions, sometimes never, he is able to admit that he had sabotaged the job referral and to understand that he did so because he really did not want the job and that he did not want the job because he really does not want to be grown up or he hates being nagged to work or he feels terrified that someone will discover he is retarded or he is frightened of failure or he cannot give up his dream to be a doctor or a mechanic or a secretary and just will not settle for cleaning toilets or carrying messages or washing dishes.

Talking with retarded people is essentially not very different from talking with other troubled persons. The main difference is probably that retardates generally are not able to express ideas and feelings as well as normals, who don't do too well either when the ideas and feelings are painful. Therefore, the counselor must depend a good deal upon his observation. He must learn to communicate with the retarded person in simple language which is not childish, in facial expressions and gestures which are readily understood, and sometimes in ways other than words. He may have to form a relationship by playing adult games with him or going on walks or shopping trips with him or teaching him how to shave or to budget or to take dictation from him for a letter to the shop newspaper. He may teach him to travel in the subway.

TRUST IS BASIC

Like most people, trainees have been raised on the dictum that it is most important to create a good impression, and most do. The majority are reasonably poised, polite and cooperative. By and large they are dressed neatly and appropriately. At first glance, only a few will give any indication that they are different from other young people. Our trainees have been taught to keep tight control over "bad" feelings such as anger, hostility, jealousy, rivalry, rebelliousness, and so on, and in many cases the teaching has been so successful that they tend to deny the existence of such feelings altogether, to lie and to evade questions about them.

Some insist and believe that they love their parents and their brothers and sisters and staff members but actually they may be full of anger against all of us. They must be helped to say what they feel -- and actually to try to find out what they feel without fear of condemnation or reprisal. These are things like, "Yes, I am lying; I do enjoy fooling you normals; I am frightened to death of a job and of growing up. I do want to be taken care of; I am retarded and hate it; I am jealous of you for being smart while I am stupid; I do have sexual feelings and I don't know what to do with them; I do want to have my own way." And so on.

And he should be able to say these things just as we may have to tell a doctor, "I have a pain in my head; I feel dizzy; I get hot flashes; I pass blood in my urine."

In both cases the person is talking about his symptoms, about what ails him. The doctor has to know his patient's physical feelings to help cure him. A counselor needs to know his client's emotional feelings in order to help him change. In both cases the feelings and the ideas are symptoms. In both cases something needs to be treated or changed.

Neither person can be helped if he conceals what is significant.

There is a difference between these two kinds of symptoms. It is not a bad thing to have a headache. Therefore, it is easier to mention. But we are taught that is is a "bad" thing to admit you do not want to support yourself and prefer that your parents take care of you for the rest of your life. Admitting that is extremely difficult.

Probably the first lesson the trainee has to learn is that his counselor knows of the possible existence of these feelings and of their power over him. He also has to learn that the counselor does not see these feelings as "good" or "bad" in a moral sense. Feelings are not seen by the counselor as moral or immoral, demeaning or exalting. Feelings are experienced as pleasurable or painful or both. They are not judged ethically. In time the counselor and the trainee have to figure out together whether the feelings finally admitted by the trainee help or hinder him and how to strengthen those which help him and to weaken those which hinder him.

The counselor can make it clear to a trainee in time that he does not think the way he is behaving is helpful to the trainee or to others or is appropriate, but in all instances however, he must make it clear that he is interested in the feeling behind the behavior and that he respects these feelings and is prepared to discuss them in a nonjudgmental manner.

However, the trainee will not permit this to happen unless he can trust the counselor. The counselor must try to win the trainee's confidence and this is a formidable job, especially with people who have learned that "silence is the best policy" and "what you don't know won't hurt me," who have had a long history of rejection, and thus have become suspicious and fearful that whatever they say may be used against them sooner or later.

Trainees must learn in time that it is in the nature of the counselor's job that they will be asked questions that are personal and may create pain. However the counselor is not asking them out of personal curiosity or because he wants to hurt, condemn or praise. He needs the answers to the questions in order to be truly helpful. At times, the counselor's questions or comments may be designed primarily to stimulate thinking on the part of the client as to why he does or does not do certain things. For the majority of our trainees, as indeed for most of us, this is a new and often unpleasant experience. Few people rarely, if ever bother to explain to themselves or to others the reasons for their behavior. If they do it, they will try to do it in the most superficial way in order to avoid facing underlying feelings which may be classified as "bad" and thus create for themselves the extremely uncomfortable state of guilt.

TRUTH CAN LIBERATE

In a good counseling relationship, the client ought to be able to experience after a while -- which may be a very long while, weeks, months and even years, the exhilarating, liberating sensation of being able to discuss practically anything that goes on within him without shame or embarassment, in the sure knowledge that he will be carefully listened to, that the counselor is with him at all times, is genuinely interested, truly sympathetic and sharply alert.

Such an experience is quite unique. In any event it is particularly unique for retarded people who have grown accustomed to being either ignored or else being chided for their "childishness," "laziness," "stupidity," and so on, without anyone taking the trouble to find out what may be underneath all of this. Almost without exception, trainees enjoy and benefit from their relationship with the counselor. Eventually, they come to see him variously as their "friend," "lawyer," "doctor" as parent substitute, or all of these, depending upon their need and situation. Of course, there is always a hard core of people who remain inaccessible regardless of intense efforts to reach them, but fortunately, they are a minority.

As is true of almost all developments in our Shop, evolving a counseling relationship becomes a learning experience -- not only for the trainee but for his counselor as well. As we get to know each other fairly well, we discover our strengths and weaknesses and learn to own up to the latter. Thus, when a counselor makes an error, as he will, it is beneficial to the relationship if he can acknowledge it freely to the trainee and discuss it with him, taking care to recognize openly the feelings of pain or discomfort he may have created with this error. This is only one way of demonstrating to the client that in a mature relationship each partner must carry responsibility for his behavior and also that such a relationship does not fall apart just because someone makes a mistake.

It is our hope that the trainee will one day integrate -- make a normal part of himself -- the sense of self-esteem and the new values derived from counseling and will transfer them to the world outside of the counseling relationship. Hopefully he will find that this makes him a happier person who gets along more easily with others (since he finds it easier to get along with himself). Hopefully he will be more willing to take risks by experimenting in untried areas since he has learned that he will not be shattered by failure. We hope he will learn to assume responsibility for himself, for his actions and their consequences. We hope that he will make sufficient peace with his retardation and other handicaps to find a happy place in the world.

We do not expect miracles. We know that there will be periods of going backward, depression, rebellion, overwhelming anxiety, when acting-out in a destructive way becomes an almost irresistible temptation. This is the reason why counselors remain available to all of our trainees, even after they leave the Shop if necessary for the rest of their lives. Troubled people cannot become completely and permanently untroubled within the limited time they spend with us, especially in a society which does create so many real problems for them. But many of them develop enough confidence and self-awareness to be able to pick up a telephone, even after months and years of no contact, to say, "I'd like an appointment. I have a problem." They will be given an appointment as quickly as possible and attempts will be made to iron out problems in one or more sessions.

THE PARENTS

Often parents are uneasy about the trainee's relationship with the counselor. There can be a sense of rivalry, the understandable resentment against an outsider "butting in," a feeling of working at cross-purposes. One parent once told a counselor with a great deal of anger, "What's the sense of my trying to tell her to control her temper when you encourage her to scream her head off?" There was a misunderstanding. The Counselor, who was aware of the trainee's ability to cope with any kind of frustration had told the trainee that she could come to the Counselor's office and "scream her head off" if she needed to but it was not correct to do so on the Shop Floor where it might irritate and disturb others and disrupt work. The trainee, who was quite mature, quickly picked up the suggestion but then misused it in arguments with her parent.

It was helpful to the counselor to have gotten this information from the parent and to be able to discuss it with the trainee, pointing out to her the tendency to manipulate people and distort statements, that had gotten her into trouble before. There were no anger and recriminations; it was an honest discussion between two adults concerned about the future of one of them. It took many such discussions before the trainee was helped to understand that her behavior was really caused by an insatiable need for attention and the conviction that she could get this only by creating conflict, which was the pattern of her entire family.

A number of parents, such as the one mentioned above, experience feelings of guilt which are more or less vague and they warn the trainee against revealing "too much." The result of this is that the trainees, given their immaturity and dependency, find themselves in an endless conflict and flounder about, not knowing what to say, whom to trust. In such cases -- and they are by no means the only ones, the counselor may ask parents to come in for individual interviews to explore their feelings and attitudes. It is interesting that so very few parents are willing to become involved either in individual or in group counseling.

The parents are a vital part of the treatment team. Not only does the counselor need their help to understand the trainee but the parents need to understand the changes they begin to see often in the trainees' behavior at home. Often they have to know how to act differently toward this one childlike person now changing into a somewhat unrecognizable adult. The retarded person begins to want freedom to move about the city alone, wants control over his earnings, goes out with girls and talks about marriage and children. Such developments can create intense anxiety in parents who like so many of us, may need help with their own feelings. In some uncertain way, some begin to sense that they really did not want the retarded person to grow up and go away even though they had been honestly and firmly convinced that this had been their goal. Such parents, understandably, may become so anxious (and angry) that they want to withdraw the trainee from counseling and even from the Shop entirely. It would be better if they could ask the counselor for an appointment instead in order to discuss their own feelings and the new situation in which they find themselves with their retarded sons and daughters. The counselor is as available to the parents as he is to the trainee.

TO SUMMARIZE

Trainees are assigned to counselors because we are aware that most of them are troubled by personal and family problems which affect their work habits and other social adjustments. The counselor is a treatment person. He treats their problematic attitudes, feelings, thoughts and actions. It is his job to help trainees understand their motives for their behavior and to help them change it if they can. If they cannot do so, they will not be penalized by rejection or other forms of personal retribution. However, since the counselor acts as a representative of a social agency which involves many people, it is a part of his job to alert trainees to possible consequences of inappropriate "acting out." It is not part of his job to "tell him," to nag, plead, cajole, lecture, threaten, argue, preach. Most of our trainees have had more than enough of that. It is the counselor's goal to reduce excessive anxiety, insecurity, depressiveness and rebelliousness, to help trainees to become more self-reliant and self-aware.

As part of his job of helping the trainee realize that he has a true -- if objective -- ally in him, the counselor must always keep pace with his client. This may mean, often that he will have to move at a very slow pace which may be alien to him, that he will have to endlessly remind, restate, reformulate fragments of previous discussions.

It also means that much of what the trainee tells the counselor cannot be repeated to the parent without the trainee's permission, something which can be upsetting to the parent. Similarly, much of what a parent confides in a counselor will also not be shared with the trainee without the parent's permission.

The counselor cannot accomplish his aims without cooperation. Because so many of our clients are as immature and dependent as they are, it is often necessary to enlist the cooperation of the parents. The more cooperation counselors can get, the more effective they will be. It would be good if the parents can encourage the trainee to be as free as possible with the counselor even if this means criticizing and opposing the parents. It would be good if the parents can try to avoid trying to force the counselor to "make" the trainee become different. The parent who finds himself unable to tolerate and understand the counselor's methods, is unable to agree with the counselor, unable to alter his ways of dealing with the trainee, who is feeling angry and anxious and confused about what is happening in the Shop, is unable to develop a good feeling toward the counselor. He will be most welcome at the Shop. If he calls the counselor for an appointment, he will find the counselor very eager to see him as soon as possible.

The trainee has to be helped to tell himself what he needs to do that is different, and he needs to believe it, and he needs intensive and long term help in achieving this. Telling him doesn't work. He has been told before -- a thousand times.

PREPARING CHILDREN FOR A HANDICAPPED CLASSMATE

by
Elizabeth J. Pieper

More and more often, handicapped children are being integrated into regular classroom settings. As a teacher who may now (or in the future) have handicapped children in your group, you will want to be knowledgeable and competent in meeting their special needs.

But to successfully build their self-image, you must first help other children to develop healthy and positive attitudes toward them. One way to do this is through a thoughtfully conceived program which is both enjoyable and instructional, and which leads to deeper understandings of the nature of physical limitations. Following are suggestions and goals which might be included in such a program.

Your first goal should be to promote the acceptance of handicapped children as individuals, more like than unlike the other children, and to encourage their participation in regular group activities.

Explain the nature of certain limitations to students and encourage them to probe these handicaps with perceptive questions. Whenever possible, have students try to imagine themselves in a handicapped child's place. Would they like to feel isolated? Inferior? As you are trying to improve attitudes, present children with facts. Talk openly about the causes of some of these handicaps. Point out the aids available to disabled children such as wheelchairs, braces, crutches; services such as physical and occupational therapy; and architectural modifications to accomodate them, including ramps, handrails, adequately wide doors (or curtains instead of doors), low kitchen counters, and so on. Disabled children do have abilities. Emphasize what they can do. Try some of the following activities to carry through these suggestions.

- Borrow wheelchairs and crutches so that children may use them. Many children enjoy "wheeling around." Some handicapped children even do "wheelies" with their chairs or have races as other children do with their bicycles.

- "Three-legged" races and "potato sack" races give children the idea of physical limitation. And a wheelbarrow race is one competition in which many paralyzed children can participate (even excel).

- Use books, records and films to lead to deeper understandings. Amahl and the Night Visitors, an opera by Gian Carlo Menotti, for instance, is particularly suitable for the Christmas season.

Discuss such recordings or dramatizations once they are finished. Ask, "If you were an actor and you played the part of Amahl, how would you show that you were lame?" (Let the youngsters experiment and demonstrate their answers to this question.)

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Another good example is The Prince and the Pauper (Disneyland Records). You might ask such questions as "Who remembers what Tom Canty's father did to make it seem as if Tom were crippled? Why did he do this? Do handicapped people do that today? How is it different? What do you think about this?"

If your children express feelings of pity, or helplessness and inability to work on the part of the handicapped, accept this without moralizing. Don't say "We shouldn't pity them," for example. Instead, you might pursue the topic with more questioning.

"Do you know anyone who is handicapped? Does he work? Does he take care of his home? Does he have a hobby?" Give children examples of people who have disabilities yet lead productive lives. For example, I know a woman who is confined to a wheelchair yet holds a fine position as a nurse; a teacher who is blind; and paralyzed men who can still swim or fly airplanes. If children find this hard to believe, have them enact the situation. How might a handicapped person get into a plan? Slip a lightweight rubber band around each child's ankles to remind him that he cannot use his legs. Now have him show how he would lift himself into the plane using only his arms. Talk about the many different activities in which the disabled can participate.

One young woman who visited our class answered the children's questions very naturally. When they inquired how she became disabled, she told them she had had polio as a child. (It is good to reassure youngsters that this will not happen to them, in situations where this would be honest.)

"Can you feel?" they asked.

"Yes, but some people can't. They have to be careful not to burn themselves with a cigarette, iron, and other hot objects and materials."

"Can't you move your legs?"

"No, not the way you can. But I lift them with my arms."

"Doesn't that make you feel sad?"

"No, not anymore. I can teach school, play the piano, sing with my friends, and drive my car. My house is the way I like it. Most of the time I am happy just as other people are. Sometimes I'm sad-but everyone is sad once in awhile."

Other materials you might use with children are the books Mine for Keeps, by Jean Little; Apartment Three, by Ezra Jack Keats; and Fly, Wheels, Fly, by Harriett Savitz.

- Invite one or several handicapped persons to talk with your youngsters. It is essential that they be well adjusted and acceptant of their disabilities. Many of the independent young people I know are interested in helping younger disabled children. They are also concerned that other people begin to understand and accept them as individuals with special talents of their own. Still, the physically impaired are often quick to realize that they must explain away noticeable difficulties before others are able to "go beyond" and view them as they really are.

- If possible, have a physical therapist visit the class, too. He can explain how he helps children become more independent, demonstrate techniques, and show some of the equipment used. The therapist might also tell ways in which children can help individually. (Usually a handicapped person is taught to ask for help if and when he needs it.) The advantage of constructing low buildings with some ramps or elevators instead of stairs, having a van equipped with a hydraulic lift or ramp to transport children might also be discussed.

- If a child in the class has a temporary disability such as a broken leg, make constructive use of the event. You might initiate a thoughtful discussion with remarks such as, "Can Sally do everything today she could do last Thursday?" "What can't she do? (Can she go to the library with us?)" A child may suggest that she cannot play kickball. "What about kickball, then?" "Is there some way Sally can be part of the game?" Someone may suggest that they play a different game in which she can participate or have "free" play so that she won't feel left out. Other children who are permanently disabled are sometimes content to keep score, figure averages, and so on, while others are just as content to fall right out of their wheelchairs if need be to hit the ball!

- Often, able-bodied people have misconceptions of what are suitable activities and vocations for disabled persons. Help children to make realistic suggestions about what Sally can really do. After a week passes, ask, "Did you notice Sally's cast more today or the first time you saw it? Is everything different about her because of her leg? Do you feel different in any way, Sally? Did you like it better when you could do more things? Is it harder to come to school now? What about children who are permanently handicapped? Do you think it would be better if they came to school or had home teachers?"

- Assembly programs, sports exhibitions, special movies, musical concerts, and so on, would make good joint activities to which you could invite children from a special school. You might also work out some kind of creative exchange program with a special school. For example, some schools have swimming pools or vocational workshops which would intrigue youngsters from regular schools. There might be ways in which to integrate some classes on a permanent basis -- "busing" in such cases could be a real plus.

Once you start thinking along these lines, you'll be able to plan for more elaborate ideas. Many of the traditional reasons for separating physically disabled and healthy children will become obviously invalid to you. The reasons may have been a "smoke screen" for the real fears people are not sophisticated enough to face. Besides doing untold emotional damage, they are needlessly costly. The same basic psychology applies to all human beings whether their different characteristic is short stature, red hair, blemishes, or paralyzed legs. Everyone needs to be accepted for himself, to be valued, to be allowed to serve as support and inspiration to others.

FIVE DAYS AS A RETARDED LAUNDRY WORKER

by
Bernard Posner

I apologize to the C---- Industrial Laundry, in a dreary old section of the city surrounded by gray rowhouses, a grocery store featuring chicken backs at 19 cents a pound, and a grease-spattered gas station.

And I apologize to Rebecca with the motherly eyes, who carried her red wallet in a paper bag so it wouldn't wear out. And to George who hummed rock-and-roll music in a high falsetto while he worked. And to Mr. Howard, a supervisor who couldn't bring himself to meet my glance. And to Sid and Larry, owners of the laundry, the only ones to know the truth. And to all the hundred-or-so men and women in the laundry who became used to seeing me wander through the plant.

I defrauded them all. I worked in the laundry for a week as a retarded person. They all accepted me as retarded, each in his or her own way: with sympathy and scorn, patience and impatience, studied attention and studied neglect. I apologize for their misplaced reactions.

I masqueraded as retarded for good reasons. My assignment on the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped is to promote jobs for the mentally retarded and mentally restored. Recently, acting as a bureaucratic matchmaker, the Committee arranged for a meeting of the Institute of Industrial Launderers, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor, and the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. It was love at first glance. Together, they developed a $344,000 project of training and hiring 1,000 retardates in industrial laundries over the next 18 months.

A great breakthrough; the first national trade association ever to take such action. But how would it be for a retarded person to work in a laundry? How were working conditions? How would he be treated by his bosses? By his fellow workers? I wanted to see from the inside what problems a retarded worker might face in an industrial laundry. So I pretended to be one.

How can a clumsy, pink-cheeked public relations type who can't even play charades at a party pass himself off as mentally retarded? It was easier than I thought.

In your eyes, who am I? You've heard that I write publicity for a living so you've already half-formed a mental image of me. When you do meet me, a computer in your mind rings up those facts about me that reinforce your image: horn-rimmed glasses, button-down shirt, loud neckties. Bzzz bzzz bzzz, out comes a computer-sketched portrait of me; not the real me, but a stereotype that you've decided ought to be me -- Posner, public relations type.

What we do, psychologists tell us, is perceive people not as they really are, but as we think they should be. We select a prefabricated mental image and we search for a few facts to strengthen it.

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That's what happened in the laundry. The day before I reported for work, Sid and Larry, the owners, spread word that a retardate was going on the payroll for a week's trial, so please be kind to him. Bzzz bzzz bzzz went a hundred built-in mental computers and the next day, when I showed up, I already had been tagged as mentally retarded -- and the tag would stick almost no matter what I said or did.

To reinforce the stereotype, however, I wore a red knit stocking cap and I spoke but little. I chewed gum; it calmed my anxiety. I acted normally; I didn't know how to act any other way. I did indulge in the pleasant luxury of not comprehending too fast, or asking that things be explained over and over again, until I was sure I had grasped them.

The first morning, I parked several blocks away (the story was that someone brought me and picked me up each day.) I trudged slowly past the rowhouses. What if I couldn't take a week's physical labor, me, pushing fifty? Then there was the laundry, the door, I was inside.

A man was loading laundered blue workshirts onto a dolly. I handed him a slip of paper with Sid's name. I didn't trust myself to speak. He looked me over from head to foot and said: "First door on your right."

There was Sid, without an eyeblink of friendship. He spoke loudly to me, or rather at me, as though the louder the talk the clearer the comprehension. "Oh, you're the new man from the sheltered workshop," his voice blasted. "We're glad you're here. Tomorrow you come a little earlier. We start at 8 o'clock. It's 7 after 8, now. Tomorrow, 8 o'clock." I nodded.

Sid escorted me to the folding and packaging department to meet Mr. Howard, the supervisor. Mr. Howard spoke with feigned heartiness, also many decibels louder than normal. He wouldn't look in my eyes. "Here, I'll hang up your jacket, Bernie," he shouted. "Oh, you're wearing a short-sleeved shirt. You'll be cold."

"Not cold," I said. They were my first words, flat and hollow.

"Meet George. He'll tell you what to do. If you have any question, you come see me." With that, Mr. Howard disappeared. He seemed glad to escape.

George was even quieter than I. A Negro in his late teens he didn't quite know how to react to a white man in his late forties. The first time he called me "sir," but he knew this wasn't right. I was retarded, wasn't I? After that, he didn't call me anything; but every time he told me what to do, I could sense him swallowing the "sir."

Here was a table heaped high with four sizes of laundered wiping rags, used in factories, gas stations, and wherever else dirt and grease accumulate. They had to be folded, inserted in a machine which encased them in plastic, and stacked on shelves. Three women worked in the room along with George. They paused to glance at me with open curiosity, then went back to work. There was much to be done.

"Fold the big cloths this way, then this way, then this way," said George. My fingers fumbled. Four or five times he explained without a trace of impatience, as though slow comprehension was not unusual. Finally I caught on. "Fold only the big ones," he said. "Chuck the others in here." He pointed to a bin.

He folded, softly crooning rock and roll in a high falsetto; the girls folded; I folded. The girls bantered among themselves, teasing George occasionally. Lehola, across the table, watched me curiously.

Later in the morning, George showed me how to stack packaged cloths on the shelves.

A buzzer; lunchtime. I went on working, waiting for someone to tell me it was time to eat; nobody did. I folded one more cloth, gave it a resounding pat, found my lunch bag and sat in a corner. Would the rest ask me to join them? No, I ate alone.

After lunch, I learned to fold a second-size cloth. The third and fourth sizes, however, were too much for me. Fold, fold, fold. Fold, fold, fold. As soon as the table was clear, along would come another load, and another. The minutes trudged by, second by reluctant second. "Does time pass slow?" I asked Lehola. "Some days it does, some days it doesn't," she said. Bit by bit, the girls drew me into their conversations; even taciturn George spoke to me. From time to time, Mr. Howard, the supervisor, would come into the room. I tried to catch his eye and smile, but he carefully avoided my glances. How strange: the workers weren't unsettled by my presence; the supervisor was.

The minutes crept on, and so ended the first day.

The second day I forgot my lunch. I was in such a hurry to arrive on time that I left it home. Rebecca was at work in the folding department that day; Rebecca in her late fifties, with kind, warm eyes and a strong chiseled face. She sat with Lehola across the table from me and whenever she thought I wasn't watching she looked at me with such compassion that I yearned to explain, "Rebecca, Rebecca, I am not retarded." All over again, she explained the folding procedures to me, for I told her I had forgotten overnight. "You'll catch on, Bernie," she reassured me, "It took me a long time too." Whenever she asked me to stack the shelves, to wheel in a load of freshly laundered cloths, to do anything, she pointed to the exact place I was to go and smiled "thank you" when I finished -- a born lady.

Lunchtime was different today. "Won't you share my fried chicken?" asked Rebecca. "And take a piece of my sandwich," offered Lehola. We perched on a worktable, eating together. "Were you tired when you got home last night?" they asked. "Yes, ma'am." "Where, your legs?" "All of me." There was warm laughter.

After lunch, Rebecca said: "Bernie, you've been folding two kinds of cloths. I'm going to show you how to fold the other two kinds. Now watch me." She folded. "You do it." I tried and fumbled. "Again." Again I fumbled. "Again," she persisted while my fingers clumsily gripped the wrong corners. At last I mastered them. "Now try them yourself." I did. "Again." I did.

With that, she cried out to the entire room: "Bernie got it! Bernie got it!" The girls came over to see and to shake my hand. Even George permitted himself a little smile. This was a day to remember -- for Rebecca, for the girls, and for me.

Before going home that day, Rebecca called me over. She whispered, "You learned a new thing today. Aren't you proud of yourself? You can learn many new things. Only you have to believe in yourself." Pride and hope were in her words.

The third day. Today I had a new job, in the washer-extractor-dryer room. Four mammoth washing machines stood on one side, their gaping mouths capable of gorging a thousand pounds each. Lined up on the other side were four giant extractors and four dryers, taller than I, fed by a vicious gas flame. Four men handled the equipment.

Sid introduced me to my new boss, Mr. Ross, slightly built, harried, always on the run. "Keep an eye on him," said Sid, and I could feel Mr. Ross wince. At one end of the room dirty work clothes, cloths, rags, and mops poured in. After passing through the washers, extractors, and dryers, they poured out again to other parts of the laundry-pressers, folders, packagers. Income and outgo had to balance. If the washing machines slowed down, traffic jams would occur. Dirty clothes would pile ceiling high; pressers and folders would be idle. The boss would bluster out of his office to find out what went wrong. With one dryer on the verge of giving up, the last thing Mr. Ross needed that morning was me -- a green hand nonproductive. "Keep an eye on him, Joe."

The work was easy and he explained it clearly. "Take these wiping cloths and put them in these two dryers. Fill the dryers only up to here." He pointed to the level. Off he shot, to handle a crisis in some other part of the department. But he came back frequently to watch me. I had overloaded both dryers. "If you put too much in, the dryers won't dry," he explained, removing the excess. "Fill 'em only up to here." His instructions were clear enough for any retardate to understand. But why did he, too, have to speak in a voice louder than natural?

The first morning I was slow and clumsy. But I was willing. The work came in spurts and, between spurts, I asked for more. I'm not ambitious, just compulsive. I can't bear to stand about idly. My willingness pleased Mr. Ross. Overlooking my clumsiness, he volunteered, "You're doing fine."

Later I was loading mop rags into the dryers, absorbed in my task, when I felt eyes focused on me. I looked up. The supervisor of the pressing department, cross the aisle, had come over to watch me work. Unblinking, puffing a cigar, he eyed me the way he might have eyed a new piece of machinery. He said not a word. I looked at him as if to say, "Well?" He shrugged and sauntered off, embarrassed. He hadn't expected a retardate to behave like a human.

That afternoon, Mr. Ross beckoned to me. "Bernie, help Slim, here, load the washing machine." Nineteen or so, Slim had the beginnings of a fresh goatee under his chin. Once in a while he would walk over to a mirror to comb it. Together, Slim and I wrestled greasy coveralls into the machine, untangling recalcitrant arms and legs, shoving, pushing.

Slim spoke. "Say, are you-uh-mentally handicapped?" "Yes." "How long you been mentally handicapped?" "Long as I can remember." Silence. Then Slim said: "Me, I took an exam for a job in the Post Office. A supervisory job. I got a high mark in the mental test. A very high mark."

I knew what Slim was doing. Here he was, working shoulder to shoulder with a retardate. To soothe his ego, he was "unidentifying" himself from me. He was convincing not me, but himself, that although we were doing the same work, we were not in the same mental bracket. He was placing himself notches above me.

After that, we got along fine. Secure in the knowledge of his superiority, he could talk to me, work with me, he could tell me the story of his life.

Fourth day. I walked in at 8 and the laundry was beginning to feel comfortably familiar. The man loading workshirts by the front door said, "Hi, Bernie." There were the offices, a bustle of white-collar activity behind closed doors. Behind the pitched hisses; the feminine side; women working with deft fingers, draping shirts onto forms for automatic pressing, arranging trousers in pants pressers; their magpie chatter-chatter adding brightness to the cavernous plant tinged with dust and lint and grease. And on the left, across the aisle from the pressing department, was the folding and packaging room. I walked through on my way to the washers and dryers.

Rebecca looked up. "Here's Bernie! How you doin, Bernie?" "Okay." "Like your new job?" "I guess." "We wish you were back, Bernie, don't we Lehola?" "We sure do."

Talk about acceptance of the retarded!

I was unloading wet work pants from the washing machines. A good-humored, stocky man passed by. I had noticed him the past few days -- a happy word for everyone. But when he approached me, he wiped off his smile as though with an eraser, replacing it with an expression of mournful pity, a perfunctory gesture, the way you automatically tip your hat in the presence of a lady. "Be serious when you pass handicapped," his code of behavior told him. And he was true to his code.

All the machines in the room were busy. Nothing to do but wait for them to finish their cycles. I was sitting on an empty crate. Mr. Ross approached. "Nice winter we're having." "Yes, Sir." "No snow." "No." "Don't want snow either, do you?" "No, sir." We both were uncomfortable at his attempt at small talk. He was trying to bridge the chasm and probe this creature with the willing spirit and the backward mind. I was trying to play my role safely and prevent the give-and-take of conversation. I was relieved, and I know he was, too, when one of the washers stopped and I put on my rubber apron to unload it.

The fifth and last day. By this time almost everyone in the plant had formulated his own personal set of attitudes toward me, the mentally retarded newcomer.

Some would self-consciously turn their heads when I passed by; others just as self-consciously would greet me with a forced cheerful "hello." The stocky man with the ready smile would deal M for Mournful when he passed me. Mr. Howard, my first supervisor, would avoid my eye; but he no longer felt embarrassed about it. Mr. Ross would hail my willingness and almost overlook my ineptness, because he needed willing men. Rebecca would consider me as a human person and not as a stereotype marked "retarded." Most of them didn't go out of their way to be kind; nor did they go out of their way to be unkind. I was just one more worker -- a bit "different" to be sure -- in the stream that flowed in at 8 every morning and out at 4 every afternoon.

I liked this kind of acceptance -- not the heart-on-your-sleeve variety, but the more genuine matter-of-fact sort.

What more could I learn at the laundry? One more day or one more week wouldn't make much difference; attitudes already were pretty much crystallized. And I had proved many points to myself about acceptance and rejection of human beings.

Four o'clock came. Goodby, Rebecca and Lehola. Goodby, George. Goodby, Mr. Howard and Mr. Ross. Goodby Slim. And Goodby, Bernie, the willing retardate who didn't catch on fast but who certainly tried hard.

Folding thousands of wiping cloths, loading and unloading tons of work clothes, I had plenty of hours to think:

1. What's in a name? Plenty. At the plant, I constantly told people: "I don't learn so good." "I don't catch on very fast." "I'm

pretty slow." These were descriptive phrases everybody understood and most could accept. I'm not sure as many would have accepted the cold, barren abstraction of the phrase "mentally retarded."

2. Acceptance, bottom to top. I was accepted more quickly at the bottom than at the top. Those who worked with me -- the semiskilled and low-skilled -- more readily opened their hearts than did my bosses. Perhaps lower skilled people, often living on the wrong side of the tracks, see so much culturally caused retardation all around them that slow learners like myself are not strange to them.

3. Dreariness of repetition. Lehola, on the job 8 months, had the longest seniority in the folding department. And no wonder; repetitive work is monotonous and unchallenging. And it's endless.

4. The willing worker. Willingness, I found, ranked high with the bosses. You can train the willing, even though retarded; you cannot train the foot-draggers.

The retarded can offer the asset of willingness.

5. The pressures of bossism. Pity the poor line supervisor; he's the one under constant pressure. He's the one who has to meet production schedules, whose greatest fear is falling behind. He's the one the front office points to should anything go wrong.

If he is to accept the retarded, he has to be assured that the retarded are willing, that they can work, that they are not going to slow his operations.

So ended my topsy-turvy week, a week that put me at the absolute bottom of a "pecking order." Every creature on earth has the need to look down upon somebody: The chickens in the barnyard, the monkeys in the zoo, man in his society. In the laundry, everyone had the opportunity to look down upon me: the school drop-outs, the semi-literates, the alcoholics drying out for a couple of weeks.

I was stripped naked of all the trappings and symbols by which so many of us measure our neighbors. I was myself.

It was a humbling experience. It was refreshing to my spirit. I shall cherish its memories all my days.

Turn in, completed, if you are working for "A" level in Module V.

REACTION SHEET - SIMULATION LABORATORY

Having participated in the simulation laboratory, find a poem which expresses your reaction to the experience or write your own poem. Write the poem on this page and share it with your instructors.

SAMPLE

Your name ______________________________ 3010 3040
(please circle one)

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STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 low ____ /2 ____ /3 ____ /4 ____ /5 ____ high

Suggestions for improving ____

____

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TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

SAMPLE

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Please circle the appropriate information:

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TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

MODULE VI - LEGAL ASPECTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Rationale

Prospective teachers must be acquainted with aspects of the law and teaching which will directly touch their professional lives. It is a poorly prepared North Carolina teacher who goes into the classroom without knowledge of basic North Carolina law concerning teachers.

Objectives

Upon completion of this module the student will have knowledge of basic North Carolina law pertaining to teachers and will be acquainted with the law and the exceptional child. The question of students' rights will also be introduced.

Materials

Excerpts from the Public School Laws of North Carolina

Ladd, Edward. "Regulating Student Behavior Without Ending Up in Court"

Tape "State and Federal Legislation Relating to Children with Special Needs," developed by Dr. Benjamin Brooks for the Dean's Grant for Mainstreaming Project, 1976. (Center; headsets and recorder available)

Additional materials: many materials are available in the Dean's Office, 215 Duncan, for student perusal and check-out.

Environment

Center

Activities and Assessment

"C" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read excerpts from the Public School Laws of North Carolina, pages 335-352.
2. Listen to tape;
3. Pass Test C.

"B" level of competency

All students will:

1. Read excerpts from Public School Laws, pages 335- 352 and; Mamola, pages 353-355.
2. Listen to the tape;
3. Pass Test C;
4. Read Ladd, pages 357-365.
5. Write a 3-5 page reaction paper to the article. DO NOT SUMMARIZE THE ARTICLE, BUT REACT TO THE ARTICLE CONTENTS.

"A" level of competency

All of #1-5 above, plus:

6. Develop a folder or bulletin board for display in the Center with at least four articles or newspaper clippings dealing with some aspects of the public school teacher and/or student and the law. Include summaries discussing the significance of each article or clipping.

EXCERPTS FROM THE PUBLIC SCHOOL LAWS OF NORTH CAROLINA

WHAT DOES THE LAW SAY ABOUT STUDENT TEACHING?

115-160.5. Student teacher and student teaching defined.-- A student teacher is any student enrolled in an institution of higher education approved by the State Board of Education for the preparation of teachers who is jointly assigned by that institution and a county or city board of education to student-teach under the direction and supervision of a regularly employed certified teacher.

Student teaching may include those duties granted to a teacher by G.S. 115-146 and any other part of the school program for which either the supervising teacher or the principal is responsible. (1969, c.638, s. 1.)

115-160.6. Legal protection. -- A student teacher under the supervision of a certified teacher or principal shall have the protection of the laws accorded the certified teacher. (1969, c. 638, s.1.)

115-160.7. Assignment of duties. -- It shall be the responsibility of a supervising teacher, in cooperation with the principal and the representative of the teacher preparation institution, to assign to the student teacher responsibilities and duties that will provide adequate preparation for teaching. (1969, c.638, s.1.)

WHAT DOES THE LAW SAY ABOUT SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION?

115-147. Power to suspend or dismiss pupils. The principal of a school shall have authority to suspend or dismiss any pupil who willfully and persistently violates the rules of the school or who may be guilty of immoral or disreputable conduct, or who may be a menace to the school: Provided, any suspension or dismissal in excess of 10 school days and any suspension or dismissal denying a pupil the right to attend school during the last 10 school days of the school year shall be subject to the approval of the county or city superintendent: Provided further, any student who is suspended or dismissed more than once during the same school term shall be subject to permanent dismissal for the remainder of the school term at the discretion of the principal, with the approval of the superintendent. In the absence of an abuse of discretion, the decision of the principal, with the approval of the superintendent, shall be final. Every suspension or dismissal for cause shall be reported at once to the superintendent and to the attendance counselor, who shall investigate the cause and deal with the offender in accordance with rules governing the attendance of children in school (1955, c.1372, art. 17, s.5; 1959, c. 573, s. 12; 1963, c. 1223, s. 5; 1965, c. 584, s. 14; 1971, c. 1158.)

Editor's note. -- The 1971 amendment added the second proviso and the next-to-last sentence.

School officials do not possess absolute authority over their students. Givens v. Poe 346 F. Supp. 202 (W.D.N.C. 1972).

Students Possess Fundamental Rights. -- Students in school as well as out of school are "persons" under the North Carolina constitution possessed of fundamental rights which the State must respect. Givens v. Poe 346 F. Supp. 202 (W.D.N.C. 1972).

Extended suspension or exclusion from school deprives a student of important rights and liberties. -- Givens v. Poe. 346 F. Supp. 202 (W.D.N.C. 1972).

Due Process Requirements for Prolonged Suspension. Where exclusion or suspension for any considerable period of time is a possible consequence of proceedings, due process requires a number of procedural safeguards to students such as: (1) notice to parents and student in the form of a written and specific statement of the charges which, if proved, would justify the punishment sought; (2) a full hearing after adequate notice; (3) which hearing is conducted by an impartial tribunal; (4) the right to examine exhibits and other evidence against the student; (5) the right to be represented by counsel (though not at public expense); (6) the right to confront and examine adverse witnesses; (7) the right to present evidence on behalf of the student; (8) the right to make a record of the proceedings; and (9) the requirement that the decision of the authorities be based upon substantial evidence. Givens v. Poe, 346 F. Supp. 202 (W.D.N.C. 1972).

Challenge to Constitutionality on Ground that Section Was Applied Discriminatorily. -- Where challenge to this section on grounds that it was applied discriminatorily and without procedural due process was an attack on lawless exercise of authority in particular cases and not an attack upon the statute conferring the authority, these issues were appropriate for determination by single district judge, and three-judge panel declined to adjudicate them. Webster v. Perry, 367 F. Supp. 666 (M.D.N.C. 1973).

Right to Equivalent Free Educational Opportunities. -- Students expelled pursuant to the authority of this section may be entitled to either reinstatement or to equivalent free educational opportunities in a more suitable environment. Webster v. Perry, 367 F. Supp. 666 (M.D.N.C. 1973).

Prohibition of Printed Matter Distribution Was Prior Restraint. -- A school rule which prohibited pupils from distributing any printed material without the express permission of the principal was held to be an invalid attempt at prior restraint because it lacked any criteria to be followed by the school authorities in determining whether to grant or deny permission, and any procedural safeguards in the form of an expeditious review procedure of the decision of the school authorities. Quarterman v. Byrd, 453 F.2d 54 (4th Cir. 1971).

READ WHAT THE LAW USED TO SAY ABOUT THE EXCEPTIONAL CHILD:

115-165. Children not entitled to attend public schools. -- A child so severely afflicted by mental, emotional or physical incapacities as to make it unlikely for such child to substantially profit by instruction given in the public schools shall not be permitted to attend the public schools of the State. When such child is presented for enrollment in a public school, it shall be the duty of the county or city superintendent of schools to have made the appropriate medical, social, psychological and educational examination of the child to determine whether the child can profit from attending the public schools. When appropriate the school superintendent also may consult with the local health director and county director of public welfare. Upon receipt of a report indicating that the child cannot substantially profit from instruction given in the public school, the county or city superintendent of schools is authorized to exclude the child from the public schools.

If the child is excluded from the public schools, the parent, person standing in loco parentis, or guardian of the child may appeal the superintendent's decision to the city or county board of education as the case may be. Such board of education may uphold the superintendent's decision to exclude the child or it may reverse the decision and order the child's enrollment. If it deems necessary, the board of education may require additional examination of the child. In the event the board upholds the superintendent's decision to exclude the child, the action of the board of education shall be the final administrative determination. The parent or guardian, however, shall have the right to appeal the school board's decision to the court under article 33 of chapter 143 of the North Carolina General Statutes. In all such cases in which a child is excluded from a public school, a complete record of the transaction shall be available to the parent, person standing in loco parentis, or guardian at their request. (1955, c. 1372, art. 19, s. 5; 1961, c. 186; 1965, c. 584, s. 17; 1969, c. 340.)

Editor's note. -- The 1969 amendment rewrote this section.

READ ABOUT THE STATE THRUST NOW IN LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE EXCEPTIONAL CHILD:

115-1.1. State policy. -- (a) The General Assembly of North Carolina hereby declares that the policy of the State is to ensure every child a fair and full opportunity to reach his full potential and that no child as defined in this section shall be excluded from service or education for any reason whatsoever. (b) The General Assembly of North Carolina further declares that the public policy of North Carolina is defined in greater detail to carry out the foregoing stated policies as follows:

(1) The State shall provide for a comprehensive early childhood development program by emphasizing preventative and remedial measures designed to provide the services which will enable

children to develop to the maximum level their physical, mental, social, and emotional potentials and to strengthen the role of the family as the first and most fundamental influence on child development;

(2) The State shall develop a system of educational opportunities for all children with special needs and require the identification and evaluation of the needs of children and the adequacy of various education programs before placement of children, and shall provide for periodic evaluation of the benefits of programs to the individual child and the nature of the child's needs thereafter;

(3) The State shall prevent denial of equal educational and service opportunity on the basis of national origin, sex, economic status, race, religion, and physical, mental, social or emotional handicap in the provision of services to any child;

(4) It is recognized that children have a variety of characteristics and needs, all of which must be considered if the potential of each child is to be realized; that in order to accomplish this the State must develop a full range of service and education programs, and that a program must actually benefit a child or be designed to benefit a particular child in order to provide such child with appropriate educational and service opportunities.

(c) The General Assembly of North Carolina finds that various studies and various programs have been undertaken and that tremendous public interest exists to seek ways of more effectively rendering a beneficial service to all of our children, and especially with children who have special needs.

In this context the term "child with special needs" means any child who because of temporary or permanent disabilities arising from intellectual, sensory, emotional, physical, environmental factors, or other specific learning disability is inhibited from achieving his full potential; to include, but not limited to, the educable, trainable, profoundly, and functionally retarded, emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, the physically handicapped or other impairments including hospitalized, homebound, or pregnant, the deaf or hearing-impaired, the language or speech-impaired, the blind or visually-impaired, gifted and talented, autistic, dependent, abused, neglected, multiple-impaired, and socially maladjusted. (1973, c. 1293, ss. 2-4.)

Editor's Note. -- Session Laws 1973, c. 1293, s. 14, makes the act effective July 1, 1974.

WHAT DOES THE LAW SAY ABOUT CHILD ABUSE?

110-116. Legislative intent and purpose. -- The General Assembly recognizes the growing problem of child abuse and neglect and that children do not always receive appropriate care and protection from their parents or other caretakers acting in loco parentis. The primary purpose of requiring reports of child abuse and neglect as provided by this Article is to identify any children suspected to be neglected or abused and to assure that protective services will be made available to such children and their families as quickly as possible to the end that such children will be protected, that further abuse or neglect will be prevented, and to preserve the family life of the parties involved where possible by enhancing parental capacity for good child care. (1971, c. 110, s. 1.)

110-117. Definitions. -- As used in this Article, unless the context otherwise requires:

(1) "Abused child" means a child less than 16 years of age whose parent or other person responsible for his care:
  a. Inflicts or allows to be inflicted upon such child a physical injury by other than accidental means which causes or creates a substantial risk of death or disfigurement or impairment of physical health or loss or impairment of function of any bodily organ, or
  b. Creates or allows to be created a substantial risk of physical injury to such child by other than accidental means which would be likely to cause death or disfigurement or impairment of physical health or loss or impairment of the function of any bodily organ or
  c. Commits or allows to be committed any sex act upon a child in violation of law.

(2) "Caretaker" means any person other than a parent who is acting in loco parentis to a child including but not limited to the following: grandparent, uncle or aunt or any blood relative, step-parent; foster parent; house parent or cottage parent or other person supervising a child in a child-caring institution or any State institution, person having custody by court order, and a guardian.

(3) "Director" means a county director of social services.

(4) "Neglected child" means a child less than 16 years of age who comes within the definition of "neglected child" under G.S. 7A-278(4).

(5) "Professional person" means a physician, surgeon, dentist, osteopath, optometrist, chiropractor, podiatrist, physician-resident, intern, a registered or practical nurse, hospital administrator, Christian Science practitioner, medical examiner, coroner, social worker, law-enforcement officer, mental health worker, psychologist, public health worker, or a school teacher, principal, school attendance counselor or other professional personnel in a public or private school.

(6) "Protective services" means casework or other counseling services to parents or other caretakers as provided or arranged by a director utilizing the staff of the county department of social services or other community resources which are designed to help such parents or other caretakers to prevent child abuse or neglect, to improve the quality of child care, to be more adequate parents or caretakers, and to preserve and stabilize family life. (1971, c. 710, s. 1; 1973, c. 1086.)

Editor's Note. -- The 1973 amendment, effective Oct. 1, 1974, inserted "mental health worker, psychologist, public health worker" in subdivision (5).

110-118. Reports of child abuse or neglect. -- (a) Any professional person who has reasonable cause to suspect that any child is an abused or neglected child, or any other person having knowledge that any child is an abused child, shall report the case of such child to the director of social services of the county where the child resides or is found.

(b) The report of child abuse or neglect may be made orally, by telephone, or it may be written. The report shall include such information as is known to the person making the report, including the name and address of the child; the present whereabouts of the child if not at the home address; the nature and extent of the child's injury or condition resulting from abuse or neglect; and any other information which the person making the report believes might be helpful in establishing the cause of the injuries or the condition resulting from abuse or neglect. If the report of child abuse or neglect is made orally or by telephone, the person making such report shall give his name, address, profession if a professional person, and telephone number if such person has a telephone, and the person making such a report shall confirm the information about child abuse or neglect in writing when requested by the director. If the person making the report is a professional person, the report shall also include his professional opinion as to the nature, extent and causes of the injuries or the condition resulting from abuse or neglect.

(c) Anyone who makes a report pursuant to this statute or who testifies in any judicial proceeding resulting from the report shall be immune from any civil or criminal liability that might otherwise be incurred or imposed for complying with the requirements of this statute, unless such person acted in bad faith or with malicious purpose.

(d) Any physician or administrator of a hospital, clinic or other similar medical facility to which an abused child is brought for medical diagnosis or treatment shall have the right to retain temporary physical custody of such child where the physician who examines the child certifies in writing that the child should remain for medical reasons or that in his opinion it may be unsafe for the child to return to his parents or other caretakers. In such case, the physician or administrator shall notify the parents or other caretakers and the director of the county where the child resides of such action. If the parents or other caretakers contest this action, the parents shall request a hearing before the chief district court judge or some district court judge designated by him within the judicial district wherein the child resides or where the hospital or institution is located for review and determination of whether the child shall be returned to his parents or caretaker. Pending such juvenile hearing, the hospital, clinic or other similar medical facility may retain temporary physical custody of the child or may request the director in the county where the child resides to assume temporary physical custody of the child for placement with a relative or in a foster home under the supervision of the county department of social services. (1971, c. 710, s. 1.)

WHAT DO THESE PARTS OF THE LAW MEAN TO YOU?

115-37. Subjects taught in public schools. -- County and city boards of education shall provide for the efficient teaching in each grade of all subjects included in the outline course of study prepared by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, which course of study shall include instruction in Americanism, government of the State of North Carolina, government of the United States, fire prevention, harmful or illegal drugs including alcohol at the appropriate grade levels. Nothing in this Chapter shall prohibit city or county boards of education from operating a nongraded system in which pupils are taught at their individual learning levels. (1955, c. 1372, art. 5, s. 20; 1957, cc. 845, 1101; 1969, c. 487, s. 2; 1971, c. 356.)

115-146. Duties of teachers generally; principals and teachers may use reasonable force in exercising lawful authority. -- It shall be the duty of all teachers, including student teachers, substitute teachers, voluntary teachers, teachers' aides and assistants when given authority over some part of the school program by the principal or supervising teacher, to maintain good order and discipline in their respective schools; to encourage temperance, morality, industry, and neatness; to promote the health of all pupils, especially of children in the first three grades, by providing frequent periods of recreation, to supervise the play activities during recess, and to encourage wholesome exercises for all children; to teach as thoroughly as they are able all branches which they are required to teach; to provide for singing in the school, and so far as possible to give instruction in the public school music; and to enter actively into the plans of the superintendent for the professional growth of the teachers. Teachers shall cooperate with the principal in ascertaining the cause of nonattendance of pupils that he may report all violators of the compulsory attendance law to the attendance officer in accordance with rules promulgated by the State Board of Education.

Principals, teachers, substitute teachers, voluntary teachers, teachers' aides and assistants and student teachers in the public schools of this State may use reasonable force in the exercise of lawful authority to restrain or correct pupils and maintain order. No county or city board of education or district committee shall promulgate or continue in effect a rule, regulation or bylaw which prohibits the use of such force as is specified in this section. (1955, c. 1372, art. 17, s. 4; 1959, c. 1016; 1969, c. 638, ss. 2, 3; 1971, c. 434.)

Editor's note. -- The 1969 amendment inserted "including student teachers when given authority over some part of the school program by the principal or supervising teacher" near the beginning of the first paragraph and inserted the reference to student teachers in the first sentence of the second paragraph.

The 1971 amendment inserted "substitute teachers, voluntary teachers, teachers' aides and assistants" in the first sentence of the first paragraph and in the first sentence of the second paragraph.

School officials do not possess absolute authority over their students. Givens v. Poe 346 F. Supp. 202 (W.D.N.C. 1972).

Students Possess Fundamental Rights. -- Students in school as well as out of school are "persons" under the North Carolina Constitution possessed of fundamental rights which the State must respect. Givens v. Poe, 346 F. Supp. 202 (W.D.N.C. 1972).

115-198. Standard course of study for each grade. -- Upon the recommendation of the State Superintendent, the State Board of Education shall adopt a standard course of study for each grade in the elementary school and in the high school. In the course of study adopted by the State Board, the Board may establish a program of continuous learning based upon the individual child's need, interest, and stages of development, so that the program has a nongraded structure of organization. These courses of study shall set forth what subjects shall be taught in each grade, and outline the basal and supplementary books on each subject to be used in each grade.

The State Superintendent shall prepare a course of study for each grade of the school system which shall outline the appropriate subjects to be taught, together with directions as to the best methods of teaching them as guidance for the teachers. There shall be included in the course of study for each grade outlines and suggestions for teaching the subject of Americanism; and in one or more grades, as directed by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, outlines for the teaching of harmful or illegal drugs including alcohol.

County and city boards of education shall require that all subjects in the course of study, except foreign languages, be taught in the English language, and any teacher or principal who shall refuse to conduct his recitations in the English language may be dismissed. (1955, c. 1372, art. 23, s. 1; 1969, c. 487, s. 1; 1971, c. 356.)

WHAT ABOUT THE TEACHER'S HEALTH?

115-143. Health certificate required for teachers and other school personnel. -- Any person serving as county superintendent, city superintendent, supervisor, district principal, building principal, teacher, or any other employee in the public schools of the State, shall file in the office of the county or city superintendent each year, before assuming his or her duties, a certificate from the county physician, local health director, or other reputable physician, certifying that the said person does not have tuberculosis in the communicable form, or other communicable disease, or any disease, physical or mental, which would impair the ability of the said person to perform effectively his or her duties.

The examining physician shall make the aforesaid certificate on an examination form supplied by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The certificate shall be issued only after a physical examination has been made at the time of the certification, and such examination shall be in accordance with rules and regulations adopted by the state Superintendent of Public Instruction, with approval of the Secretary of Human Resources, and such rules and regulations may include the requirement of an X-ray chest examination.

It shall be the duty of the county or city superintendent of the school in which the person is employed to enforce the provisions of this section.

Any person violating any of the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine or imprisonment in the discretion of the court. (1955, c. 1372, art. 17, s. 1; 1957, c. 1357, ss. 2, 14; 1973, c. 476, s. 128.)

Editor's note. -- The 1973 amendment substituted "Secretary of Human Resources" for "State Health Director."

Opinions of Attorney General. -- Mr. Harry C. Corbin, Superintendent, Transylvania County Schools, 40 N.C.A.G. 273 (1969).

WHAT DOES THE LAW SAY ABOUT COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE?

115-166. Parent or guardian required to keep child in school; exceptions. -- Every parent, guardian or other person in this State having charge or control of a child between the ages of seven and 16 years shall cause such child to attend school continuously for a period equal to the time which the public school to which the child is assigned shall be in session. No person shall encourage, entice or counsel any such child to be unlawfully absent from school.

HOW DOES A TEACHER GET TENURE IN NORTH CAROLINA?

115-142. System of employment for public school teachers. -- (a) Definition of Terms. -- As used in this section unless the context requires otherwise:

(1) Repealed by Session Laws 1973, c. 782, s. 1.

(2) "Board" means a city or county board of education.

(3) "Career teacher" means a teacher who has obtained career status as provided in G.S. 115-142(c).

(4) "Committee" means the Professional Review Committee created under G.S.115-142(g).

(4.1) "Day" means any day except Saturday, Sunday, or a legal holiday. In computing any period of time, the day in which notice is received is not counted, but the last day of the period is to be counted.

(5) "Demote" means to reduce the compensation of a person who is classified or paid by the State Board of Education as a classroom teacher or to transfer him to a new position carrying a lower salary. The word "demote" does not include a reduction in compensation that results from the elimination of a special duty, such as the duty of an athletic coach, assistant principal, or a choral director.

(6) "Probationary teacher" means a certificated person, other than a superintendent, associate superintendent, or assistant superintendent, who has not obtained career-teacher status and whose major responsibility is to teach or to supervise teaching.

(7) Repealed by Session Laws 1973, c. 782, s. 5.

(8) "Superintendent" means the superintendent of schools of a public school system or, in his absence, the person designated to fulfill his functions.

(8.1)"Supervisor" means a person paid on the supervisor's salary schedule who supervises the instructional program in one or more schools and is under the immediate supervision of the superintendent or his designee.

(9) "Teacher" means a person who holds at least a current, not expired, Class A certificate or a regular, not provisional or expired vocational certificate issued by the State Department of Public Instruction; whose major responsibility is to teach or directly supervise teaching or who is classified by the State Board of Education or is paid as a classroom teacher; and who is employed to fill a full-time, permanent position.

(10)Repealed by Session Laws 1973, c. 782, s. 6.

(b) The superintendent shall maintain in his office a personnel file for each teacher that contains any complaint, commendation, or suggestion for correction or improvement about the teacher. The complaint, commendation, or suggestion shall be signed by the person who makes it and shall be placed in the teacher's file only after five days' notice to the teacher. Any denial or explanation relating to such complaint, commendation, or suggestion that the teacher desires to make shall be placed in the file.

The personnel file shall be open for the teacher's inspection at all reasonable times but shall be open to other persons only in accordance with such rules and regulations as the board adopts. Any preemployment data or other information obtained about a teacher before his employment by the board may be kept in a file separate from his personnel file and need not be made available to him. No data placed in the pre-employment file may be introduced as evidence at a hearing on the dismissal or demotion of a teacher.

(c) (1) Status of Teachers Employed on July 1, 1972. -- No teacher may become a career teacher before July 1, 1973. To be eligible to become a career teacher on July 1, 1973, a teacher must have been employed by a North Carolina school system on July 1, 1972, and at the end of the 1971-72 school year, have either (i) been employed by that school system (or successor school system if the system has been consolidated) for four consecutive years, or (ii) been employed in a North Carolina public school system for five consecutive years. Notwithstanding the requirement that the period of employment must be consecutive, a board may waive this requirement if the teacher has taught in its school system for a total of four years at the end of the 1971-72 school year and if, in the board's opinion, there was good reason why the service was not consecutive. A teacher who satisfies these requirements shall automatically become a career teacher on July 1, 1973, if he taught in that school system during the 1972-73 school year and was reemployed for the 1973-74 school year. All other teachers are probationary teachers.

(2) Normal Election of a Teacher to Career Status. -- When a teacher will have been employed by a North Carolina public school system for three consecutive years, the board, near the end of the third year, shall vote upon his employment for the next school year. The board shall give him written notice of that decision at least 30 days before the end of his third year of employment. If a majority of the board votes to reemploy him, he becomes a career teacher on the first day of the fourth year of employment. If the board votes to reemploy the teacher and thus grant career status at the beginning of the next school year, and if it has notified him of this decision, it may not later rescind that action but must proceed under the provisions of this section for the demotion or discharge of a teacher if it decides to terminate his employment.

If a majority of the board votes against reemploying the teacher, he shall not teach beyond the current school term. If the board fails to vote on granting career status but reemploys him for the next year, he automatically becomes a career teacher on the first day of the fourth year of employment.

A year, for purposes of computing time as a probationary teacher shall be not less than 120 workdays performed as a full-time, permanent teacher in a normal school year.

(3) Employment of a Career Teacher. -- A teacher who has obtained career status in another North Carolina public school system need not serve another probationary period of more than two years, and may, at the option of the board, be employed immediately as a career teacher. In any event, if the teacher is reemployed for a third consecutive year, he shall automatically become a career teacher. A teacher with career status who resigns and within five years seeks to be reemployed by the same school system need not serve another probationary period of more than one year and may, at the option of the board, be reemployed as a career teacher. In any event, if he is reemployed for a second consecutive year, he shall automatically become a career teacher.

(4) Ineligible for Career Status. -- No superintendent, associate superintendent, assistant superintendent or other other school employee who is not a teacher as defined by G.S. 115-142(a)(9) is eligible to obtain career status or continue in a career status if he no longer performs the responsibilities of a teacher as defined in G.S. 115-142(a)(9).

(5) Leaves of Absence. -- A career teacher who has been granted a leave of absence by a board shall maintain his career status if he returns to his teaching position at the end of the authorized leave.

(d) Career Teachers. --

(1) A career teacher shall not be subjected to the requirement of annual appointment nor shall he or she be dismissed, demoted, or employed on a part-time basis without his or her consent except as provided in subsection (e).

(2) A career teacher who has performed the duties of a principal or supervisor in a particular position in the school system for three consecutive years shall not be transferred from that position to a lower-paying administrative position or to a lower-paying nonadministrative position without his consent except for the reasons given in G.S. 115-142 (e) and in accordance with the procedure for the dismissal of a career teacher set out in this section.

(e) Grounds for Dismissal or Demotion of a Career Teacher.--

(1) No career teacher shall be dismissed or demoted or employed on a part-time basis except for:

a. Inadequate performance;
b. Immorality;
c. Insubordination;
d. Neglect of duty;
e. Physical or mental incapacity;
f. Habitual or excessive use of alcohol or nonmedical use of controlled substance as defined in Article 5 of Chapter 90 of the General Statutes.
g. Conviction of a felony or a crime involving moral turpitude;
h. Advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the State of North Carolina by force, violence or other unlawful means;
i. Failure to fulfill the duties and responsibilities imposed upon teachers by the General Statutes of this State;
j. Failure to comply with such reasonable requirements as the board may prescribe;
k, Any cause which constitutes grounds for the revocation of such career teacher's teaching certificate; or
l. A justifiable decrease in the number of positions due to district reorganization or decreased enrollment, provided that subdivision (2) is complied with.
m. Failure to maintain one's certificate in a current status.

(2) When a career teacher is dismissed pursuant to G.S. 115-142 (e) (1) (l) above, his or her name shall be placed on a list of available teachers to be maintained by the board. Career teachers whose names are placed on such a list shall have a priority on all positions for which they are qualified which become available in that system for the three consecutive years succeeding their dismissal. However, if the school system offers the dismissed teacher a position for which he is certified and he refuses it, his name shall be removed from the priority list.

(3) In determining whether the professional performance of a career

teacher is adequate, consideration shall be given to regular and special evaluation reports prepared in accordance with the published standards of performance which shall have been adopted by the board. Failure to notify a career teacher of an inadequacy in his or her performance shall be conclusive evidence of satisfactory performance.

(4) Dismissal under subdivision (1) above, except paragraph g thereof, shall not be based on conduct or actions which occurred more than three years before the written notice of the superintendent's intention to recommend dismissal is mailed to the teacher.

(f) Suspension without Pay.-- If a board believes that cause exists for dismissing a probationary or career teacher for any reason specified in G.S. 115-142(e)(1)b through G.S. 115-142(e)(1)h and that immediate suspension of the teacher is necessary, the board may by resolution suspend him without pay and without giving notice and a hearing.

If a board thinks a probationary or career teacher's performance is so inadequate that an emergency situation exists requiring the teacher to be removed immediately from his duties, the board shall give him written notice that it plans to suspend him and the reasons for the planned action. Not less than two or more than five days after the teacher receives the board's notice, the board shall hold a hearing on whether it should suspend the teacher. The hearing procedures provided in G.S. 115-142(j) shall be made available to the board. If the board finds it necessary to suspend the teacher, it may by resolution suspend him without pay.

However, within five days after such suspension becomes effective, procedures shall be commenced for the dismissal of the teacher pursuant to the provisions of G.S. 115-142(h)(1). In the event that it is ultimately determined that grounds do not exist for dismissal of the teacher, the teacher shall be reinstated immediately to his or her position and shall be paid for the period of suspension.

(g) Professional Review Committee; Qualifications; Term; Vacancy; Training.--

(1) There is hereby created a Professional Review Committee which shall consist of 121 citizens, 11 from each of the State's Congressional Districts, five of whom shall be lay persons and six of whom shall have been actively and continuously engaged in teaching or in supervision or administration of schools in this State for the five years preceding their appointment and who are broadly representative of the profession, to be appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction with the advice and consent of the State Board of Education. Each member shall be appointed for a term of three years except that the first appointments shall be made

as follows: 40 members to serve for a one-year term; 40 members to serve a two-year term, and 41 members to serve a three-year term. The Superintendent of Public Instruction with the advice and consent of the State Board of Education, shall fill any vacancy which may occur in the committee. The person appointed to fill a vacancy shall serve for the unexpired portion of the term of the member of the committee whom he is appointed to replace.

(2) The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall provide for the committee such training as he considers necessary or desirable for the purpose of enabling the members of the committee to perform the functions required of them.

(3) The compensation of committee members while serving as a member of a hearing panel shall be as for State boards and commissions pursuant to G.S. 138-5.

(h) Procedure for Dismissal or Demotion of Career Teacher.--

(1) A board may dismiss or demote a career teacher only upon the recommendation of the superintendent.

(2) At least 20 days before recommending to a board the dismissal or demotion of the career teacher, the superintendent shall give written notice to the career teacher by certified mail of his intention to make such recommendation and shall set forth as part of his recommendation the grounds upon which he believes such dismissal is justified. The notice shall include a statement to the effect that if the teacher within 15 days after the date of receipt of the notice requests a review, he shall be entitled to have the proposed recommendations of the superintendent reviewed by a panel of the committee. A copy of G.S. 115-142 and a current list of the members of the Professional Review committee shall also be sent to the career teacher.

(3) Within the 15-day period after receipt of the notice, a career teacher may file with the superintendent a request in writing for review of the superintendent's proposed recommendation by a panel of the committee. If no request is made within that period, the superintendent may file his recommendation with the board. The board, if it sees fit, may by resolution dismiss such teacher. If a request for review is made, the superintendent shall not file his recommendation for dismissal with the board until a report of a panel of the committee is filed with the superintendent.

(4) If a request for review is made, the superintendent, within five days of filing such request for review, shall notify the Superintendent of Public Instruction who, within 10 days from the time of receipt of such notice, shall designate a panel of five members of the committee (at least two of whom shall be lay persons) who shall not be employed in

or be residents of the county in which the request for review is made, to review the proposed recommendations of the superintendent for the purpose of determining whether in its opinion the grounds for the recommendation are true and substantiated. The teacher or principal making the request for review shall have the right to require that at least two members of the panel shall be members of his professional peer group.

(i) Investigation by Panel of Professional Review Committee; Report; Action of Superintendent; Review by Board.--

(1) The career teacher and superintendent will each have the right to designate not more than 40 of the 121 members of the Professional Review Committee as not acceptable to the teacher or superintendent respectively. No person so designated shall be appointed to the panel. The career teacher shall specify those committee members who are not acceptable in his request for a review of the superintendent's proposed recommendations provided for in subdivision (h)(3) above. The superintendent's notice to the Superintendent of Public Instruction provided for in subdivision (h)(4) above shall contain a list of those members of the committee not acceptable to the superintendent and the teacher respectively. Failure to designate nonacceptable members in accordance with this subsection shall constitute a waiver of that right.

(2) As soon as possible after the time of its designation, the panel shall elect a chairman and shall conduct such investigation as it may consider necessary for the purpose of determining whether the grounds for the recommendation are true and substantiated. The panel shall be furnished assistance reasonably required to conduct its investigation and shall be empowered to subpoena and swear witnesses and to require them to give testimony and to produce books and papers relevant to its investigation.

(3) The career teacher and superintendent involved shall each have the right to meet with the panel accompanied by counsel or other person of his choice and to present any evidence and arguments which he considers pertinent to the considerations of the panel and to cross-examine witnesses.

(4) When the panel has completed its investigation, it shall prepare a written report and send it to the superintendent. The report shall contain an outline of the scope of its investigation and its finding as to whether or not the grounds for the recommendation of the superintendent are true and substantiated. The panel shall complete its investigation and prepare the report within 30 days from the time of its designation, except in cases in which the panel finds that justice requires that a greater time be spent in connection with the investigation and the preparation of such report, and reports that finding to the superintendent and the teacher, provided that such extension does not exceed 60 days.

(5) Within 30 days after the superintendent receives the report of the panel, he shall submit his written recommendation for dismissal to the board or shall drop the charges against the teacher. His recommendation shall state the grounds for the recommendation and shall be accompanied by a copy of the report of the panel of the committee.

(6) Within 10 days after the receipt of the recommendation of the superintendent and before any formal action is taken, the board shall notify the career teacher by certified mail and furnish to him a copy of the recommendation and of the report of the panel of the committee. If the career teacher is unwilling to abide by the superintendent's recommendation, within 10 days from the date of receipt of the notice he shall notify the board which shall set a time and place for a hearing. The career teacher shall be given at least 10 days' notice of the time and place of the hearing. If the teacher does not notify the board of his unwillingness to abide by the recommendation, the board, if it sees fit, may by resolution dismiss the teacher.

(j) Hearing Procedure.--The following provisions shall be applicable to any hearing conducted pursuant to G.S. 115-142(k) or (l).

(1) The hearing shall be private unless the career teacher or the superintendent requests a public hearing.

(2) The hearing shall be conducted in accordance with such reasonable rules and regulations as the board may adopt consistent with G.S. 115-142, or if no rules have been adopted, in accordance with reasonable rules and regulations adopted by the State Board of Education to govern such hearings.

(3) At the hearing the career teacher shall have the right to be present and to be heard, to be represented by counsel and to present through witnesses any competent testimony relevant to the issue of whether grounds for dismissal or demotion exist or whether the procedures set forth in G.S. 115-142 have been followed.

(k) Panel Finds Grounds for Superintendent's Recommendations True and Substantiated.--

(1) If the panel found that the grounds for the recommendation of the superintendent are true and substantiated, at the hearing the board shall consider the recommendation of the superintendent, the report of the panel, including any minority report, and any evidence which the teacher may wish to present with respect to the question of whether the grounds for the recommendation are true and substantiated. The hearing may be conducted in an informal manner.

(2) If, after considering the recommendation of the superintendent, the report of the panel and the evidence adduced at the hearing, the board concludes that the grounds for the recommendation are true and substantiated, the board, if it

sees fit, may by resolution order such dismissal.

(l) Panel Does Not Find That the Grounds for Superintendent's Recommendation Are True and Substantiated.--

(1) If the panel does not find that the grounds for the recommendation of the superintendent are true and substantiated, at the hearing the board shall determine whether the grounds for the recommendation of the superintendent are true and substantiated upon the basis of competent evidence adduced at the hearing by witnesses who shall testify under oath or affirmation to be administered by any board member or the secretary of the board.

(2) The procedure at the hearing shall be such as to permit and secure a full, fair and orderly hearing and to permit all relevant competent evidence to be received therein. The report of the panel of the committee shall be deemed to be competent evidence. A full record shall be kept of all evidence taken or offered at such hearing. Both counsel for the system and the career teacher or his counsel shall have the right to cross-examine witnesses.

(3) At the request of either the superintendent or the career teacher, the board shall subpoena any witness residing within the State to appear at the hearing and testify. Subpoenas for witnesses to testify at the hearing in support of the recommendation of the superintendent or on behalf of the career teacher shall, as requested, be issued in blank by the board over the signature of its chairman or secretary. The witnesses shall be entitled to receive the same mileage and per diem as witnesses called in civil cases in the State, but the board shall not be accountable for the witness fees of more than 10 witnesses subpoenaed on behalf of the career teacher.

(4) At the conclusion of the hearing provided in this section, the board shall render its decision on the evidence submitted at such hearing and not otherwise.

(5) The findings and the order of the board following the hearing shall be in writing and a copy shall be served upon the career teacher. A record of the proceedings shall be made available without charge for the use of the career teacher in the event he wishes to appeal to the superior court.

(m) Probationary Teacher.--

(1) The board of any public school system may not discharge a probationary teacher during the school year except for the reasons for and by the procedures by which a career teacher may be dismissed as set forth in subsections (e) and (h)(1) above.

(2) The board, upon recommendation of the superintendent, may refuse to renew the contract of any probationary teacher or to reemploy any teacher who is not under contract for any cause it deems sufficient; provided, however, that the cause may not be arbitrary, capricious, discriminatory or for personal or political reasons.

(n) Appeal.-- Any teacher who has been terminated by action of the board after a hearing pursuant to subsections (k) or (l) shall have the right to appeal from the decision of the board to the Superior Court for the judicial district in which the teacher is employed. The appeal shall be filed within a period of 30 days after notification of the decision of the board. The cost of preparing the transcript shall be borne by the board.

(o) Resignation.-- No teacher may resign without the consent of the board except upon 30 days' notice. Provided, however, that giving notice of resignation within 30 days preceding the beginning of the school year shall constitute grounds for the revocation of a teacher's certificate for the remainder of that calendar year or school year, in the discretion of the State Board of Education.

There are no vested rights in regard to reemployment of public school teachers. Johnson v. Branch, 242 F. Supp. 721 (E.D.N.C. 1965), rev'd on other grounds, 364 F.2d 177 (4th Cir. 1966) (decided prior to the 1967 amendment to this section).

Right to Employment for Another Year Is Distinguishable from Dismissal for Cause. -- The right to be employed or reemployed for another school year is to be distinguished from the problem of dismissal of a teacher for cause. Johnson v. Branch, 242 F. Supp. 721 (E.D.N.C. 1965), rev'd on other grounds, 364 F.2d 177 (4th Cir. 1966) (decided prior to the 1967 amendment to this section).

Reemployment of Teacher is Discretionary. -- The decision to reemploy a teacher in North Carolina for a subsequent school term is a matter of discretion vested in the principal, who makes the recommendation to the superintendent and board of education which approve it. However, professional personnel are not at the mercy of any whimsical or arbitrary decision school administrators or a county board of education may care to make regarding their retention or reemployment. Wall v. Stanly County Bd. of Educ., 259 F. Supp. 238 (M.D.N.C. 1966), rev'd on other grounds, 378 F.2d 275 (4th Cir. 1967) (decided prior to the 1967 amendment to this section).

But School Officials Must Act In Good Faith. -- Those connected with school administration including the county boards of education and school principals, must act in good faith and not arbitrarily, capriciously, or without just cause or be activated by selfish motives. Wall v. Stanly County Bd. of Educ., 259 F. Supp. 238 (M.D.N.C. 1966), rev'd on other grounds, 378 F.2d 275 (4th Cir. 1967)(decided prior to the 1967 amendment to this section

DO YOU KNOW SCHOOL LAW?

by
Claire Mamola

Take the test on this page before you read the answers given on the next page. See how much you "don't" know about laws which govern you as a teacher.

1. A career teacher is a person who:
   a. has just retired from teaching
   b. has been hired for a second consecutive year of teaching
   c. has been hired for a fourth consecutive year of teaching
   d. has been teaching long enough to be eligible for a pension
2. The file on each teacher in the superintendent's office:
   a. contains only letters of complaint
   b. is open to the public at all times
   c. is never open to the public nor to the teacher
   d. is readily available to the teacher
3. After a teacher's probationary period is over, if he hears nothing about his status as a career teacher but has received a contract, he may assume:
   a. he is now a career teacher
   b. he has been dismissed
   c. he must wait two years to claim career teacher status
   d. he can never be a career teacher
4. Career teachers may be dismissed for which of the following?
   a. failure to comply with all requirements of the school board
   b. physical or mental incapacity
   c. taking more than three sick days a year
   d. all of the above
5. If a career teacher appeals dismissal, the first step is that:
   a. he may take his case to the Professional Review Committee
   b. he may take his case to the Superior Court
   c. he may take his case to the State Department of Public Instruction
   d. he may appeal to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
6. A problem with the appeals procedure established by law is that:
   a. it is very, very expensive for the teacher
   b. it can take a long time
   c. it has not been modified for a very long time
   d. all of the above
7. If a career teacher loses a job because of a justifiable decrease in the number of positions due to district reorganization or declining enrollment
   a. he must look elsewhere
   b. he can expect another job within the same school within two years
   c. he will be placed on a list to have first preference of available jobs over the next five years
   d. he will be placed on a list to have first preference of available jobs over the next three years
8. No teacher may resign without the consent of the school board within how many days preceeding the beginning the school year?
   a. 90
   b. 45
   c. 10
   d. 30
9. North Carolina school law specifically warns about discrimination against:
   a. women
   b. beginning teachers
   c. black teachers
   d. older teachers
10. Teachers in North Carolina must be specifically tested for:
    a. psychological attitudes toward children
    b. tuberculosis
    c. hearing problems
    d. none of the above

Reprinted from North Carolina Education. Vol.5, no.1, September 1974, Pages 14-15.

The author wishes to call the reader's attention to the use of the term "he"; this reflects an error which two years later, she would certainly correct and change to "he/she".

School law influences and affects your teaching position every day. How much do you know about basic school law as it pertains to your daily teaching and to your career?

Try the quiz on the preceding page based on excerpts from the Public School Laws of North Carolina. The quiz is designed to test elementary aspects of school law as they pertain to educators.

The answers to the questions are contained below:

(1) A career teacher in North Carolina is one who has been employed in a public school system for three consecutive years and who has been rehired by the board of education for the next year. A teacher working toward tenure is termed a probationary teacher. Also mentioned in the law are substitute and temporary teachers, who are not eligible for tenure. In our state principals are eligible for tenure but superintendents are not.

(2) North Carolina state law does not specify any one method by which the probationary teacher is to be evaluated on the way to career teacher status. School boards may establish their own forms and procedures. There is a provision in the law which makes possible on-going evaluation of teacher performance, however. A file on each teacher is kept in the superintendent's office, containing signed suggestions, letters of complaint or of praise. The teacher has the right to add written comments of his own relative to the materials in his file. According to the law, the file is available for the teacher to see, "at all reasonable times," and it is not automatically available to anyone else.

(3) The probationary teacher who has been teaching for three years and who has received a contract for the following year without being notified specifically concerning his status as a career teacher, may assume that he is now a career teacher based on North Carolina law. This provision of the law protects the teacher in the event that the school board is lax regarding designation of career teachers.

(4) Career teachers may be dismissed for physical or mental incapacity. They are enjoined to comply with all reasonable requirements of the school board. There are a number of additional causes for dismissal including: inadequate performance, immorality, insurbordination, neglect of duty, habitual and excessive use of alcoholic beverages or drugs and conviction of a felony or a crime involving moral turpitude. A person advocating the unlawful overthrow of the government of the United States or of the government of North Carolina may be fired. If a teacher's certificate is revoked for valid reasons, the teacher can be dismissed. Ignorance of the law is not a defense, for the teacher is enjoined to fulfill the responsibilities and duties given to teachers by state law, or face possible dismissal.

(5) The Professional Review Committee was created to hear appeals from career teachers. The committee is composed of eleven citizens from each Congressional District. Five of the individuals from each district are lay people and the remaining six are educators. All committee members are appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction with the advice and consent of the State Board of Education. Committee members reviewing a particular case must not be employed nor live in the county in which the teacher contesting dismissal works.

(6) A problem with the appeals procedure is that it can take a long time, perhaps as long as a year, for the due process established for the Professional Review Committee to be completed. In the course of its deliberations the Committee may subpoena witnesses and demand pertinent written materials. Both the career teacher and the superintendent may appear before the Committee with or without counsel. The procedure is not necessarily expensive for the teacher.

(7) If a career teacher loses a position because of a justifiable decrease in the number of positions due to district reorganization or declining enrollment, he is to have priority for all positions in his field which become available in that school system during the next three years. If such a career teacher is offered a job for which he is qualified within the system and turns down the position, he loses his right to priority for future available positions.

(8) A teacher may not resign without the consent of the school board unless he gives 30 days notice before the opening of the new school year. Such resigniation may cause the teacher's certificate to be revoked. This provision in the law protects the school system against teachers job hopping just before the start of the academic year.

(9) Public school law in North Carolina specifically warns against discrimination to black teachers. The burden of proof is placed on the school administration to show that failure to re-hire was not discriminatory in nature. In addition, black teachers changing positions within a school system are not to be treated as new applicants to the system unless all teachers are so treated.

(10) In our state the teacher who fails to have a physical at the beginning of the new school year, may find that his paycheck for the first month is withheld until this requirement of the law is satisfied. Teachers must be tested for tuberculosis, specifically, as well as for other communicable diseases and impairments.

An aquaintance with basic North Carolina school law is necessary for all public school personnel in the state. If the quiz shows a lack of knowledge about school law, there is a remedy. The teacher may seek a copy of the Public School Laws of North Carolina from his principal or superintendent to borrow and read.

REGULATING STUDENT BEHAVIOR WITHOUT ENDING UP IN COURT

by
Edward T. Ladd

Administrators of our public schools face a dilemma today which they've never faced before: how to regulate student behavior without being sued for violating students' rights or, if sued, without being overruled in court. For at least a century, of course, lawsuits have been brought on behalf of students whom school officials have beaten, suspended, or expelled. Only recently, though, has the practice become so common as to play a serious part in teachers' or administrators' day-to-day disciplinary decisions. Now there are many school districts where, when a student subjected to disciplinary action hauls the would-be discipliner into court, it no longer comes as a surprise.

In the past four or five years, school officials who have suspended students for "misconduct" have been sued on the ground that the suspension was improper because the charge is unconstitutionally vague. Officials have been sued because they have punished students for demonstrating against school policies, disobeying principals' orders or advocating disobedience, failing to stand during the Pledge of Allegiance, publishing obscene materials, repeatedly violating no-smoking rules, and ripping up a flag. Measures taken to enforce dress and haircut rules that had been taken for granted since time immemorial have been attacked literally dozens of times in federal court. The searching of school lockers without a warrant has been challenged all the way to the Supreme Court. While teachers have hit students who have displeased them ever since the first public schools opened over three centuries ago, there are now parents who go to court charging that any use of physical violence against students is cruel and unusual and hence illegal. Students given disciplinary transfers from one school to another have sued to block such transfers on the ground that they were decided upon without formal due process, that is, that the students were not presented with charges, allowed to bring witnesses, afforded impartial review, and the like. Students suspended for obvious and flagrant breaches have sued on the same ground.

In many of these cases the school officials have won, but in many others they have lost. Courts have placed administrators under almost unprecedented restrictions, and in at least one recent case a court punished an administrator for a disciplinary action by awarding the student damages.

All this is fairly widely known. What is less well known is that the new situation it has created goes strongly counter to a tradition which is basic to American public school administration and threatens what most conscientious administrators have always been taught to believe is good professional practice. Being an administrator trying to keep order in school must sometimes seem like being a modern physician trying to practice medicine in a country which has outlawed scalpels and hypodermic needles. The new restrictions put great demands on administrators' time and energy, too. The Topeka school district reported in 1970 to the Kansas legislature that giving students due process to the extent required by a new state law put a heavy burden of paper work on the

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schools, cost money the school district couldn't afford, took an average of four and a half hours of staff time per student suspended, and called for legal training that school officials didn't have. No wonder that a number of the New York City principals are retiring early and blaming their quitting on the New York Civil Liberties Union's Student Rights Project.

There is every reason to believe that in the years ahead the pressure will not lessen but increase. Even our present national concern about law and order will not halt the decades-old trend toward a strengthening of individual liberties. Nor is there an end in sight to young Americans' new-found disposition to sue in court. They seem almost to have become like the Englishmen described in The Pickwick Papers: When a principal crosses them, they instinctively cry, "I'll sue him!"

Besides, there is now money to support students' suits in amounts there never was before. Legal Aid Societies have become noticeably more active in this field. The American Civil Liberties Union and its affiliates around the country, though their litigation budgets are small, are many times busier in the field than just 10 years ago. But, much the most important, there are many antipoverty legal service organizations going to bat very aggressively for what they believe to be the rights of children and adolescents living in poverty. At a dozen universities around the country there are research and service centers backing up the antipoverty lawyers, and some of them are especially interested in broadening the legal rights of public school students. The National Juvenile Law Center at St. Louis University has already drafted a model statute to govern high school suspensions and expulsions (at the request, by the way, of the California Rural Legal Assistance office, an antipoverty agency). The Harvard Center for Law and Education peddles a "Student Rights Litigation Kit," comments on proposed legislation, and points out new hills to be stormed. Last year its director, David Kirp, wrote:

> The public school system punishes poor children for being poor....It offers them no say in the running of their schools, suspending those who dare to challenge the educational regime....[This] punishment...is not inevitable....Legal challenges are possible, and may even be successful.

But if the money for lawsuits against school officials comes from outside the educational establishment, some of those inside it are contributing ammunition in the form of ideas and documents. A little booklet published in 1969 by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (The Reasonable Exercise of Authority) has been read and quoted by students and civil liberties lawyers across the country. A much stronger code of student rights and responsibilities, adopted by the National Education Association in 1971, is adding to the pressure. Liberal codes of students' rights adopted by New York City, Philadelphia, Seattle, and many other systems are being examined by students and lawyers in dozens of other cities, as are liberal quasi-judicial rulings from the state school commissioners of New York and New Jersey. Finally, a few professors of education are getting into the act, teaching and writing about students' rights, and even serving as expert witnesses in court challenges to school practice.

School officials can expect, then, to come under attack for many more of the restrictions they commonly put on students' freedom. They may, for example, find themselves sued for requiring passes for trips through the hallways, insisting that students stay on campus during the school day, insisting on silence in lunchrooms, forbidding smoking, forbidding students to talk back to teachers and principals, requiring students to have conferences with counselors, requiring school newspaper editors to show their copy to faculty advisers, not allowing students to hold meetings at which no school official is present, making policy decisions without involving representatives of the students affected by them, and even for not allowing students who have been threatened to carry weapons in self-defense. The point is not that any of these restrictions are unjustified -- or for that matter justified -- but that any of them may quite possibly be challenged in court.

Furthermore, the practices school officials use for getting students to comply with requirements may also be challenged, such practices as insulting or abusing students, publicly humiliating them, being sarcastic, insisting on self-incriminating testimony, searching students' persons, keeping students after school when they have buses to catch or jobs to report to, recording alleged misbehavior in school records, and excluding students from extracurricular activities or student councils as a punishment. Counselors who tell disciplinary authorities about the content of confidential counseling sessions may likewise find themselves defendants in lawsuits. And so on and on.

A large part of the panoply of disciplinary requirements and practices is under fire and more of it may be soon. Not a little of it has already succumbed. Meanwhile, disorder in schools appears to increase.

This is a terrible dilemma. How are school administrators to deal with it -- other than by retiring? There is a way, I believe. To find it, we must understand the dilemma's underlying causes, the forces in which today's administrators are tossed as if in a blanket. And to identify those forces we first must look at the rationale for the way authority and power are distributed and exercised in the typical school. In his important new book, The Culture of the School and the Process of Change, Seymour Sarason says that "in each classroom there is a constitution, verbalized or unverbalized, consistent or inconsistent...that governs behavior." We are concerned here with what could be called the constitution of the school. Because of its legal overtones, the term "constitution" is not a bad one; a still better one, perhaps, is "the system of governance."

To understand fully the system of governance that prevails in our public schools, it will be helpful to recall the system of governance in the community in which these schools were born and reared. The public school originated in Puritan Massachusetts, a colony that started out as a private, commercial corporation, controlled by a governor and 12 directors. The inner circle, having no confidence in the judgment of the members, kept the power tightly in their own hands. They claimed, indeed, that a higher authority had given them the sole right to "correct, govern, punish, pardon, and rule." Conscientiously, they endeavored to enforce conformity in all matters they believed to be of public concern, which encompassed the members' religion, private lives, and pleasures, including sexual behavior, flashy clothes, and long hair. Nonconformists were not allowed to run for office or even to vote. Newcomers who would swell the ranks of the community were welcome on condition that they accepted these arrangements and didn't try to rock the boat.

Discipline was simple and swift, and due process of law and opportunity for appeals hardly existed. Humiliating punishments, including corporal punishment, were routine, and brutal ones not out of the question. Members of the community who were anti-Establishment and spoke out unconventionally or insubordinately could be -- and often were -- expelled. The idea that some people were incorrigible and must simply be gotten rid of seems to have been a commonplace.

This was the governance system within which the "Old Deluder Satan" Act was passed. ("It being one of the chief projects of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures...it is...ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall report to him to write and read.") From the marriage of Puritan religion and the Puritan state, then, emerged our original public schools. Notice four of the key principles of their common system of governance:

1. Those in authority get that authority from above, and it is essentially unlimited except by their obligations to higher authority and the laws created in its name.

2. Those in authority are fully responsible for seeing to it that those below them behave correctly in every respect.

3. Those at the bottom have few rights, largely nominal ones, and are forced to rely mainly on privileges extended to them when they have shown acceptable judgment and behavior.

4. Since those at the bottom cannot be counted on to embrace their role voluntarily, the system must provice for continuous intimidation, occasional coercion, and, as a last resort, removal.

What these four principles came to mean in the operation of our public schools and what they have meant over the intervening years requires no elaboration. While through the generations there has been a great broadening of the schools' gene pool, the traits of the original governance system are still apparent.

The Puritan community was also the setting in which the civil law dealing with public school discipline was born and nurtured. Most if not all of the early court decisions which became the precedents on this subject came from local and state courts in New England and particularly Massachusetts. A classic example is a seminal decision which directly or indirectly has influenced almost all the subsequent decisions in this area, that rendered in the case of Hodgkins v. Rockport in 1870:

> When a scholar is guilty of misconduct which injuriously affects the discipline and management of the school, we think the law vests in the [school] committee the power of determining whether the welfare of the school requires his exclusion... If they exercise this power in good faith, their decision is not subject to review by the court.

That the Puritan concept remains strong in school law is suggested by the way school law specialists still commonly refer to the regulating of student conduct as "pupil control."

It is on the framework of the Puritan principles of governance that our great public school system has grown and flourished. These principles have repeatedly been sanctioned by local and state courts, and on occasion by legislatures. To judge from responses to the Harris and Gallup polls, which call for stricter discipline in the schools, they still command the support of a majority of the public. And they are a central element -- often not even put into words -- of the tradition in which school administrators have been trained, and which most conscientious, effective school administrators have tried to uphold. The legal problems surrounding discipline today come largely from attacks on these principles.

It is no mere chance that most student rights cases are brought in federal courts by lawyers arguing from the Bill of Rights, for federal courts and civil liberties lawyers represent in general a quite distinct and different system of governance. This system, also going far back into our history, indeed into the history of England, is the Madisonian system of governance embodied in our federal constitution and interpreted over the years by our federal courts. In it the rights of individuals, far from being left out, are central: *Everyone* has certain important rights, including the rights to freedom of speech and the press, to a degree of privacy, and to due process of law. These rights don't have to be earned; they don't hinge on the fulfilling of duties or obligations. Nor can they be taken away from anyone, no matter how irresponsible or stupid, how nonconformist or disruptive, he is. So central are rights, indeed, that duties and obligations are nothing more than means to the exercising of rights. Ultimate authority comes not from above but from below; it is not centralized but is scattered equally among the members of the community. Those who govern have defined functions beyond which they may not go. Since everyone else has *some* power, theirs is limited from all directions, and a special kind of impartial body, the court, exists to referee conflicts. To keep the system working, everyone must temper his respect for authority with a measure of continuous defensiveness and skepticism.

Madison himself summed up the key principles of this system when he wrote in *The Federalist*, No. X:

> As long as the reason of man continues fallible, and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed. As long as the connection subsists between his reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other...
>
> No man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause; because his interest would certainly bias his judgment and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity....
>
> It is in vain to say that enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust...clashing interests and render them all subservient to the public good. Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm; nor, in many cases, can such an adjustment be made at all, without taking into view indirect and remote considerations, which will rarely prevail over the immediate interest which one party may find in disregarding the rights of another or the good of the whole....

> If the impulse and the opportunity be suffered to coincide, we well know that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control.

These principles have been applied to the governance of schools by the Supreme Court in its most basic statement about public school students' rights:

> The Fourteenth Amendment, as now applied to the states, protects the citizen against the state itself and all of its creatures -- boards of education not excepted. These have, of course, important, delicate, and highly discretionary functions, but none that they may not perform within the limits of the Bill of Rights. That they are educating the young for citizenship is reason for scrupulous protection of constitutional freedoms of the individual.

Federal judges and other persons steeped in the Madisonian system have increasingly pressed our public schools to adopt that system in place of the traditional one. That is the crux of today's difficulty.

Since for two centuries we have run schools on the Puritan system within a broader society run more or less on Madisonian principles, we may reasonably ask whether it isn't possible for us to continue. I believe it is not. There is no sign that the tide of anti-authoritarianism pressing for change will abate. Even if it should, though, three other considerations suggest that the Puritan system must go.

First, as our governmental structure becomes more and more unified, we can expect that sooner or later our national governance system, where it conflicts with a different one, will prevail.

Second, the kind of social environment provided by the Madisonian system is inescapably much more educational than the kind the Puritan system provides. While the Puritan system conveys to the student that he is a lesser being, not to be trusted, the Madisonian system shows him respect. The former, with its centralized power, may intimidate him; the latter is more likely to develop his courage and self-reliance. The former provides him with a more regimented and standardized experience; the latter exposes him to variety, discontinuity, and stimulation. The former restricts his opportunities to learn how to make decisions; the latter casts him in the role of a decision maker. In short, a student will learn better how to function as a citizen of a Madisonian society if his school has been governed along Madisonian lines. These conclusions cannot be described as absolutely and firmly established educational principles, but they follow inescapably, or nearly so, from present-day psychological knowledge, whether one's taste runs to Jerome Bruner, Erik Erikson, James Coleman, Fritz Redl, or B.F. Skinner.

Third, the Puritan governance system is fast losing its usefulness for regulating student behavior, for it works only to the extent that students come to school with a built-in tendency to defer to the authority of their elders. Essentially, they must accept the premise that adults are right about what is best for them, must feel deeply uncomfortable about behaving differently from the way they are told to behave, and must respond when school officials appeal to their sense of shame or guilt. To put the matter in Freudian terms, they must have a certain type of superego. In more common language, they must be cowed, at least in part. This is the way most American young people of the past used to be, and it provided the underlying basis for keeping order in school, as anyone over 30 knows.

Cowing a young person, however, is a process that takes persistent pressure over the early years of his life. Hence it can be achieved only by his family, not by the school. But, today, for better or worse, fewer and fewer families are cowing their children.

The other day a 16-year-old student shook his finger in the face of a teacher of my acquaintance. When she said to him, "Don't you shake your finger at me like that," he retorted, "It's my finger, and I have a right to shake it if I want!" Such a degree of self-assertiveness (or arrogance) was rare just a few years ago. Few of us would have dared to talk that way to a teacher or would have had classmates who dared to. Yet nowadays that kind of thing happens constantly. And it is usually the students most likely to get into trouble, those whose behavior the school most wants to regulate, who are the least cowed.

School officials, then, can no longer count on regulating the behavior of obstreperous kids by intimidating them. As Superintendent John Letson of Atlanta said recently, "If the students and authorities are on separate sides, look out! The authorities will lose every time." A sad but no longer rare spectacle is the school principal who used to keep order with reprimands, threats, and punishments, but who finds them ineffectual today and becomes frustrated and angry.

That's not the whole story, however. Students who aren't cowed and are nonetheless subjected to threats and punishments tend just because they aren't cowed to respond to what they view as attacks on them with hostility and aggression: The very actions intended to improve their behavior make it worse. Even when cracking down brings these students into immediate compliance, it produces more trouble in the long run. Superintendent Robert Findley of Glen Cove, New York, says the "stupidity of the high school situation," especially rigid rules like "having to have a pass to go to the toilet," are the major cause of high school riots. And, remember, no amount of cracking down by itself will bring these young people around. For the growing number of students who come to school self-assertive, then, the Puritan governance system is doomed to be not only ineffective but counter-productive.

Both the fact that the Puritan system is educationally inferior and the fact that it is no longer very effective for keeping order have legal overtones.

Because the law requires that the school educate students properly, students have a legal claim to be dealt with educationally. In principle, then, a school official who attempts to maintain order with rules or practices which are countereducational, or are less educational than they might be, is not discharging his legal obligation. This is not to predict that if students sue on this ground alone they will win in court. It is to say that such lawsuits may well be brought and that they might be won. I know of two haircut cases which were argued in federal court partly on the basis that the regulations constituted affirmative educational malpractice. The concept of actionable educational malpractice is strange and new, but antipoverty lawyers have a tendency to bring suits on just such strange, new bases.

School officials are also required by law to regulate certain aspects of students' conduct and to do so effectively. Professor Goldstein of the University of Pennsylvania calls this one of the school's "host" obligations. In a situation where traditional Puritan governance approaches are ineffective, and where there is no reason to expect them to be otherwise, a school official who relies on them alone and hence fails to keep order is plainly derelict in his duty. He is all the more vulnerable in the face of abundant recent studies concerning new involvement approaches and "behavior modification" techniques that can be very effective indeed. The ineffective practices associated with the Puritan governance system may not be upset in the courts very soon, but they might.

The way out of the dilemma is fairly clear, I believe, but far from easy. Simply replacing the Puritan system with the Madisonian system will not do, of course. School systems are not democracies -- Madison would have said "republics" -- but are agencies created by the citizenry at large and accountable to it, while partly accountable, too, to the students they are intended to serve. The school's governance system can be a modified Madisonian system, however, with many rights and powers guaranteed to students, yet with some powers reserved to school officials, the representatives and employees of the public. The actual division of power between school officials and students should vary, it seems, depending on the students' ages, so as to allow for the range from the very young to 17-year-old adults on the verge of full citizenship. As little children grow older, the governance system should radically expand their rights and prerogatives and radically decrease -- nearly to the vanishing point -- the restrictions and requirements unilaterally imposed on them, just as many families broaden the prerogatives of their growing children and adolescents year by year, likewise cutting back on autocratic restrictions. Cutting back on school-imposed restrictions does not mean that students necessarily become freer. It means, more likely, that as they grow up more and more of the restrictions on their freedom are restrictions they have accepted by their own choice.

About prerogatives it should be pointed out that having real prerogatives is much more than being involved in decision making in only an advisory capacity. Valuable though such involvement may be, it does not take the place of having the latitude to make final decisions, and thus to make one's own mistakes and achieve one's own successes.

Unfortunately, however, today's school law not only makes no provision for giving students power or prerogatives but implicitly prohibits it. As one liability case after another reveals, it often prevents the school from allowing students to play on a playground or hang around together after lunch without a supervisor standing by to intervene should any roughness threaten. Recently the California Supreme Court, in a decision involving a high school senior, said:

> Supervision during recess and lunch periods is required, in part, so that discipline may be maintained and student conduct regulated ....Adolescent high school students are not adults and should not be expected to exhibit that degree of discretion, judgment, and concern for the safety of themselves and others which we associate with full maturity....Boys of 17 and 18 years of age.... are not accustomed to exercise the same amount of care for their own safety as persons of more mature years....[A] principal task of supervisors is to anticipate and curb rash student behavior. (Dailey v. Los Angeles Unified School District, 1970)

Such a view seems somewhat anomalous in a state where a year later one of the houses of the state legislature was to vote to define 18-year-olds as in every sense full-fledged adults, but it reflects a general legal barrier to converting the schools to the Madisonian system. As attorney Thomas A. Shannon of the San Diego school district told a Senate committee on education in Sacramento, the law today works on a double standard. This being so, it seems clear that new statutory provisions are needed to allow school officials to turn over to students, especially older ones, significant portions of the regulation of their own conduct and of the general decision-making about school affairs, including student publications and the expenditure of certain funds.

It is another key feature of the Madisonian system that rights and duties are recorded in writing. Many school systems have written statements specifying students' duties vis-a-vis the school, and some now have statements of students' rights though none that I know of ties duties or rights to age, and few even begin to place them on ascending or descending scales. The same holds for the several state board documents spelling out students' rights. Only one document, to my knowledge, affirmatively and explicitly spells out school officials' duties toward students.

During the interim, while new disciplinary approaches are being introduced and new legal instruments created, our school administrators are hardly to be envied. Others, however, can help. Members of the public, especially parents, can press school administrators and school boards to adopt and implement statements of students rights. New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, Montgomery County (Maryland), Cleveland, Evanston, Minneapolis, Seattle and many other school systems have already done this; the Ohio state school board and the California state legislature are considering doing it for all public schools in their respective states. Those who know teachers and students can stir them up to insist upon a new distribution of authority and power in the schools and support them when they do. Professors of law and education in particular may be prevailed upon to turn their attention and that of their students to the creation of new legal and educational forms consistent with the Madisonian system.

With plenty of help -- including some strong pressure -- and with a bit of good luck, administrators will probably be able to extricate themselves from their dilemma, to the profit of us all, but especially of the students in our schools.

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

Suggestions for improving ______________________________

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

SAMPLE

STUDENT EVALUATION OF MODULE

Please circle the appropriate information:

MODULE I II III IV V VI

Level of competency worked for this module: A B C

1. Did working in this module capture and hold your interest?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

2. Did this module serve your career goals?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

3. Were the readings and activities of an appropriate level of difficulty for you?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

4. Has this module stimulated your curiosity to know more about the topic?

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

5. My overall reaction to this module.

/1 /2 /3 /4 /5
low high

Suggestions for improving ______________________________

____

____

TURN IN AFTER COMPLETING MODULE

COURSE EVALUATION OF EE 3010 AND SE 3040 STUDENTS IN MODULARIZED EDUCATION CLASS: PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Note from the instructors-

> A thoughtful, detailed, totally honest response to these questions will help us as we plan for next term. Please complete this evaluation and turn it in at the center.
> (THE SURVEY HAS NO EFFECT ON YOUR GRADE)

NAME________________________________

MAJOR_______________________________

1. Grade you are contracting for in this course ________. Have you had to change during the term and contract for a lower grade? Yes____ No____

   If your answer is yes, why have you had to "contract down"?

2. Would you recommend this course to a friend to take? Yes____ No____
   Why or why not?

3. You will soon be teaching. Would you organize and teach a course in this manner?
   Yes______ No______ Why or why not?

4. If your answer was no, would you organize and teach a part of a course in this manner? Yes____ No____ Why or why not?

5. On the whole, were you satisfied with the course content?
   Excellent______ Good______ Adequate______ Poor______

6. Course content as compared to classes not taught in this manner?

   ______ better than usual classes
   ______ about the same as usual classes
   ______ poorer than usual classes

SAMPLE

7. On the whole, were you satisfied with the method of course organization, i.e., modules, contracts, etc.?
Excellent______ Good______ Adequate______ Poor______

8. Method of course organization as compared to classes not organized in this manner.

______better than usual classes
______about the same as usual classes
______poorer than usual classes

9. On the whole, were you satisfied with your individual interaction with the instructors? Yes____ No____ Why or why not?

______more
______about the same
______less
10. Was there ______much less interaction between yourself and the instructors as compared to other classes?

11. Are you satisfied with your grade when thinking of the work you've done for this course? Yes____ No____ Why or why not?

12. If a more informal covenant or agreement instead of the formal contract had been used, would you have preferred that? Why or why not?

13. If you could, would you arrange other parts of your life (husband/wife, roommate/roommate, parents/yourself, friend/friend, lover/self) relationships and roles on a similar contract basis? Why or why not?

14. Are the course requirements flexible enough to meet student needs?
Yes____ No____

15. Is the faculty flexible enough to meet student needs? Yes____ No____

16. If the instructors were team teaching another course in a traditional manner would you take it from them? Yes____ No____

SAMPLE

COURSE EVALUATION OF EE 3010 AND SE 3040 STUDENTS IN MODULARIZED EDUCATION CLASS: PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Note from the instructors-

> A thoughtful, detailed, totally honest response to these questions will help us as we plan for next term. Please complete this evaluation and turn it in at the center.
> (THE SURVEY HAS NO EFFECT ON YOUR GRADE)

NAME______________________________________

MAJOR_____________________________________

1. Grade you are contracting for in this course ________. Have you had to change during the term and contract for a lower grade? Yes____ No____

   If your answer is yes, why have you had to "contract down?"

2. Would you recommend this course to a friend to take? Yes____ No____ Why or why not?

3. You will soon be teaching. Would you organize and teach a course in this manner?
   Yes______ No______ Why or why not?

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   ______ better than usual classes
   ______ about the same as usual classes
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______about the same as usual classes
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______more
______about the same
______less
______much less
interaction between yourself and the instructors as compared to other classes?

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Yes____ No____

15. Is the faculty flexible enough to meet student needs? Yes____ No____

16. If the instructors were team teaching another course in a traditional manner would you take it from them? Yes____ No____

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